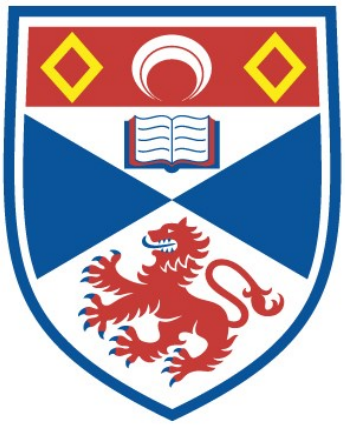
THE WEEKLY MAGAZINE : A STUDY

Ian Cumming Walker

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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A Thesis

Presented for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

of The University of St. Andrews

by

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Declaration by Applicant

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself, that the work of which it is a record has been done by me, and that it has not been accepted in any previous application for a Higher Degree.

Certificate of Supervisor

I certify that Ian C. Walker has spent the statutory period in Higher Study and Research, has fulfilled the Ordinance and Regulations for the Degree of Ph.D. of the University of St. Andrews, and is therefore qualified to submit this thesis in application for the Degree.

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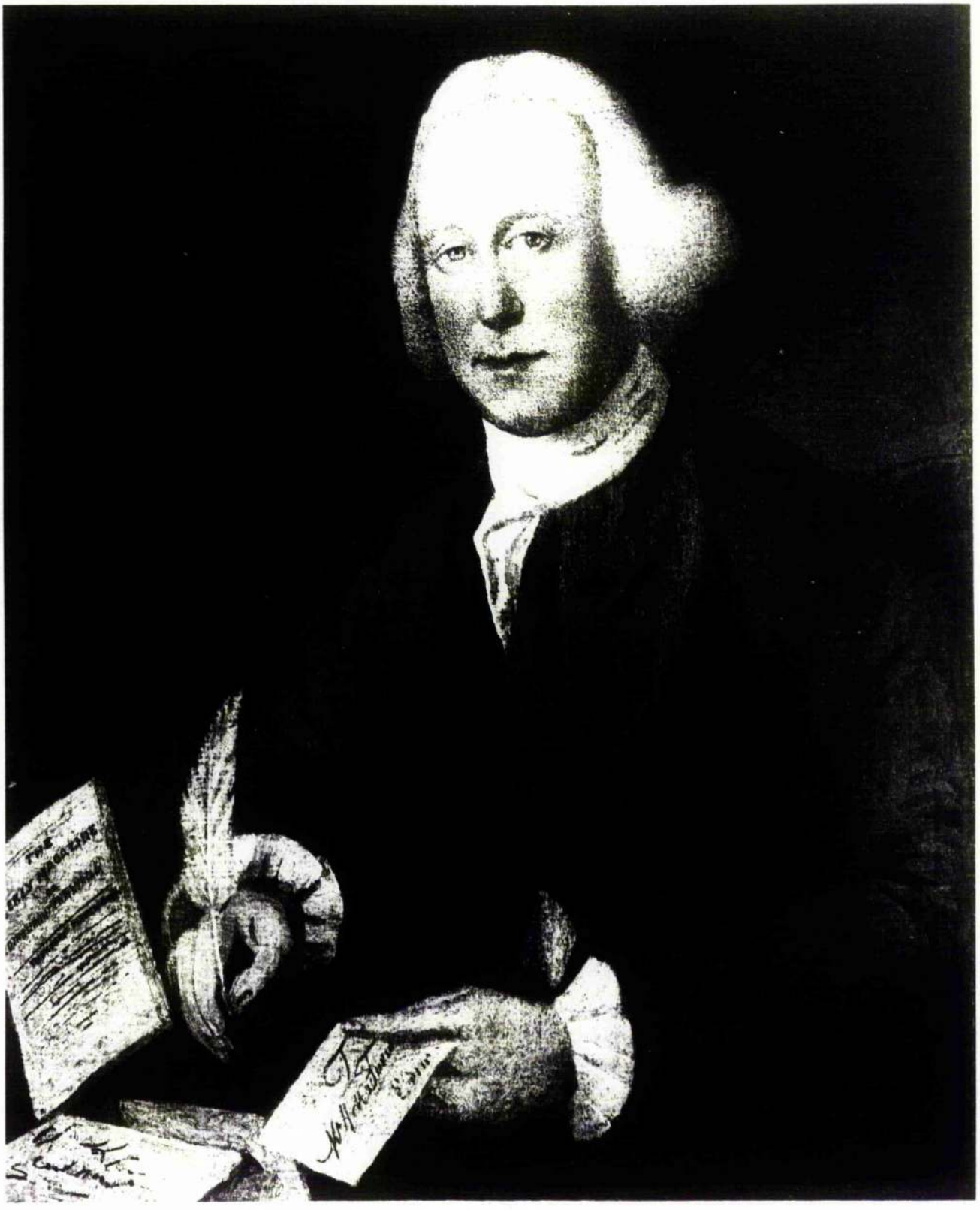

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WALTER RUDDIMAN

AFTER PAINTING IN POSSESSION OF
G. H. JOHNSTON
PAINTED 1777

INTRODUCTION

The original impetus for this study was provided by D.S.M. Imrie's unpublished St. Andrews University Ph.D. Thesis Edinburgh Magazines 1739-1826 (1936), in which The Weekly Magazine (1768-1784) was singled out as one of the landmarks in the evolution of the magazine in Scotland.

The reasons given there for its importance are as follows. The publisher and printer, Walter Ruddiman, was the first of the Edinburgh magazine proprietors known to have performed the duties of an editor. His magazine broke new ground by appearing weekly instead of at the more usual monthly intervals, and presented a greater proportion of original material than had previously been possible.

Imrie's work, designed as a broad general survey of a large field, could not, of

course, give more than a fairly brief account of any one magazine, and in view of The Weekly Magazine's suggested importance, it was decided to devote the present study entirely to an examination of this periodical alone.

Apart from demonstrating Ruddiman's editorial activities, already mentioned, it was hoped to throw some light on Scottish literary, political, and social interests of the period. The years covered by this magazine were part of an era which was critical for the survival of Scottish culture. The Union of 1707 had exposed the Scottish way of life to comparison with that of England, and in many cases their own misgivings about the exact use of English were felt by the Scots to be signs of cultural inferiority. Throughout much of the eighteenth century powerful forces were at work to make the Scotsman lose his national identity in assimilation to English modes of speech, thought, and writing. Thus, it was considered, he might appear better-educated and more truly British. Against this movement Ruddiman stood out at times,

although perhaps not always intentionally, as a champion of Scottish feeling, and one of the more interesting and consistent themes to emerge from this study is the theme of nationalism.

CHAPTER I RUDDIMAN'S EARLIER CAREER

The Ruddiman family belonged to the north-east of Scotland, and Walter, editor of the Weekly Magazine, was born on the farm called Bog of Montblairy, in the parish of Alvah, Banffshire, during the year 1719 - the actual date is unknown, since the surviving Parish Registers are incomplete, and indeed even for the year 1719 the sole evidence is the statement in Greyfriars Burial Register that he was 62 at the time of his death in 1781. He was the son of James Ruddiman, farmer, and his wife Isabel, who are stated by Chalmers (The Life of Thomas Ruddiman) to have had another son, John, successor to his father in the farm.[1] However, G.H. Johnston, on whose book The Ruddimans in Scotland this biographical sketch draws freely, states there were at least four children, James, Thomas,

---

1 G. Chalmers: The Life of Thomas Ruddiman, p.13n.

John, and Walter.[1]

Johnston is silent on the subject of Walter Ruddiman's education, but I have observed the following entry in the roll of Alumni in Arts of the University and King's College of Aberdeen:-

(1732-1736 Regents: Prof. J. Ker; Alexander Burnet)
...Valterus Ruddiman, Banfiensis, burs[ar]
b s t [bajan, semi, tertian][2]

Assuming the year of his birth to be correctly given by Johnston as 1719, twelve or thirteen would seem an abnormally tender age at which to matriculate, even by the standards of the time. Proceeding from printed authority to manuscript source, I noted this entry in the Album of Entrants to King's College 1718-1821 (pp.22-23):-

Hi Adolescentes Graecis Literis Operam Navantes sub Auspiciis Mri. Joa. Ker Graec. Lit. Proffessoris, in Album Almae Matris Suae Nomina sua retulerunt XXVIto Martij An MDCCXXXIII ∝ in Usum Bibliothecae [pecuniam] contulerunt ut Infra.
...Valterus Ruddiman Banfiensis

Although the Album signatures are autographs, this one has so much of a stylised, copy-book appearance that comparison with the more mature authenticated signatures is practically impossible, but there is a

1 G.H. Johnston: The Ruddimans in Scotland, 39.
2 P.J. Anderson: Alumni in Arts of the University and King's College of Aberdeen, 1596-1860, 67.

certain individuality about the initial V that appears also in the initial W of Walter Ruddiman's signature on the will of Thomas Ruddiman in Sandley (1741). The name of Walter Ruddiman appears also among the Bursars' Vouchers 1669-1788 as one who received both in 1732-33 and 1733-34 forty pounds Scots, the sum awarded to Foundation and Leys Bursars. For 1734-35 his name does not appear in the collective list of recipients, but in a separate autograph note dated 27th May, 1735, he acknowledges receipt of half the bursary, and requests payment of the second half - his receipts had been dated 12 April in the earlier years. Assuming the various entries do not refer to some other person, no special significance need be attached to Walter Ruddiman's leaving university without a degree, in days when students attending classes often had no intention of proceeding to graduation, but for the fact that he was a bursar. Whether or not early promise was followed by some irregularity, it is futile to speculate in the absence of further evidence.

That Ruddiman remained in the north-east until

at least March 1745 is vouched for by documentary records cited in Johnston's book:[1] in 1739 and 1741 he was described as 'Mr Walter Ruddiman in Bog of Montblairy,' but on 11th March 1745 he figured as executor under his brother's will with the new designation 'merchant in Banff.' If, with Johnston, we interpret 'merchant' to mean 'printer,' it would appear he had already started on his life's work before coming to Edinburgh. Perhaps the move to the capital was prompted by the prospect of better opportunities in printing and publishing. Perhaps, also, he was encouraged by the example of his illustrious uncle, Thomas Ruddiman the grammarian (1674-1757), who, it should be remembered, added the business of printer to his extensive labours as Keeper of the Advocates' Library and promoter of classical studies. Thus, for a time, there were two printing firms in Edinburgh under the name of Ruddiman:- the older-established firm consisting of Thomas Ruddiman the grammarian, his brother Walter and son Thomas; and the newer firm founded by Walter Ruddiman from Bog of Montblairy and continued by his

1 Johnston, loc. cit.

own son Thomas. The founder of the latter firm called himself 'Walter Ruddiman, Junior' for business purposes until in 1770 the death of his uncle with the same name made the distinction no longer necessary.

The period 1745-1754 is unaccounted for in Johnston's biography, but it is possibly safe to assume that Ruddiman had been resident some time in Edinburgh before his admission as a burgess of the city set the seal on his personal reputation :-

> 1754 Sept. 11th. Walter Ruddiman, Printer, Junior, compearing is made Burgess of the Burgh, and gave his Oath, and paid for his Duty to the Dean of Guild (David Flint) One Hundred Merks Scots in Satisfaction of the Dues. Conform to an Act of the Town Council made anent the admission of unfreemen.
> (Burgess Roll)

A similar uncertainty surrounds the date of his marriage. Johnston states that he married Janet Bradfute about 1754. Examination of the register of marriages in Edinburgh for the period in question reveals nothing on this point, but merely records the marriage of his son Thomas (born 1753), who, as partner and successor to his father in the publication of the Weekly Magazine, has a place of

his own in this narrative:-

Ruddiman, Thomas, printer, New North p.[arish] , and Miss Jane, College Kirk p., d. of deceased Mr. James Stear, attorney in London, 29th Apr. 1787.[1]

In addition Walter Ruddiman had three other children, John (date of birth unknown), Walter (born 1762,, and a daughter, Janet (born 1761), who lived to an advanced age and whose remarkable powers of memory furnished anecdotes about Fergusson when in her father's company for Grosart to record in his biography of the poet published in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Although he had left Banffshire for good, Ruddiman did not forget the language of the area in which he grew up. In 1754 there appeared a translation into the Buchan dialect of Ajax his Speech to the Grecian Knabbs. From Ovid's Metam. Lib. XIII, made by Robert Forbes, but printed in Edinburgh anonymously. Chalmers, however, states that it was printed by Ruddiman, at his uncle Thomas's request, and that the glossary was supplied by the printer himself.[2]

1 Register of Marriages of the City of Edinburgh, ed. Grant, p.681. The date given is that of proclamation.
2 Op. cit., pp. 258-259.

The Weekly Magazine, however, was not Ruddiman's sole venture in magazine publishing. It was preceded by an earlier experiment, the Edinburgh Magazine (1757-1762), which claims some attention here for its bearing on the later and better-known work.

THE
EDINBURGH MAGAZINE
MDCCLVII
Volume I

Floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia libant
Omnia nos

EDINBURGH
Printed by WALTER RUDDIMAN Junior and COMPANY
MOROCCO'S-Close, LAWMARKET.

Ushered into the world with this title-page, it ran to six volumes, the first covering the period July-December 1757, and the remainder a complete year each. The motto from Lucretius (De Rerum Natura, III, 11), used again in the next decade to grace the title-page of the Weekly Magazine, illustrates very well the earliest conception of a magazine -

– "As bees in flowery glades sip every blossom, so do we" – a series of extracts from many different sources conveniently presented in a small compass.

Using the first number (July 1757) as a specimen, break-down analysis reveals that this publication did not differ much from other monthly magazines of the period. Of an issue of 56 pages, more than half is devoted to reprints (e.g. from the London Chronicle) of foreign travels and other articles from abroad; four pages are devoted to poetry, and the rest is made up of 'History' (i.e. news), which includes such things as births, marriages, deaths, promotions, new books, Haddington grain prices, and prices of stocks. But the appearance of the Edinburgh Magazine was much enhanced by maps and other engravings (usually at least one per month), sometimes hand-coloured, whereas the Weekly Magazine in all its sixty volumes had only three such insertions.[1] Moreover, these engravings were not gratuitous, but closely linked to the textual matter; thus a botanical article on the Guernsey Lily was supplemented by a coloured print of the flower (II, 366),

1 XXIII,16, 112; XXIV,193.

and we have the editor's word that he provided his readers with maps so that they might follow the current foreign military campaigns reported in the History sections.

At the beginning of the first number (I, 3-7) is an interesting letter, unsigned, which in effect advises the publisher how to conduct his publication and lists suitable subjects, such as religion, politics, commerce, manufactures, agriculture, monthly occurrences, discoveries, works of imagination and fancy, and the contents of London publications, 'which reach but a few Scots readers.' The editorial preface refers to this letter in the following terms :-

> Our duty has been very acutely deduced by one of our correspondents; and by setting his letter at the head of our Magazine...we have in some measure come under engagements to the Public, to make his advice the rule of our conduct in the future execution of this work. (I, iv)

Significantly, the Weekly Magazine has a very similar letter in the same prominent position, but bearing the signature A.M. Now M.P. McDiarmid[1] considers that this epistle was inspired, if not composed, by Ruddiman himself. In both letters one is

1 The Poems of Robert Fergusson, I, 35. The device was common in early eighteenth-century periodicals.

struck by the somewhat peremptory tone in which the publisher is instructed to include this, that, and the next in his magazine: a tone that would be inappropriate in a correspondent writing to an editor, but credible if the whole thing were an editorial fiction. And the existence of the earlier letter certainly adds force to McDiarmid's conjecture about the later one.

Editorial prefaces and addresses to the reader in prose or verse were a regular feature of the Edinburgh Magazine, and vestiges of this practice will be noticed later in the Weekly Magazine. From internal evidence it is clear these pieces were written only on the completion of the respective volumes, and their viewpoint is therefore retrospective (e.g. Preface to Volume I :- "After a trial of six months, the favours we have received..."). With their aid, it is possible to chart the rise and fall of the Edinburgh Magazine.

Although there was only one other magazine in Edinburgh at the middle of 1757, some justification was needed for launching a new monthly periodical.

Ruddiman asserted in his first preface that the Scots Magazine could not possibly publish all the articles that were worth reading every month; consequently there was room for co-existence. This assertion does ward off the accusation of direct cut-throat competition, but it must be realised that, since two publications of the same type were now on the market, the public would inevitably make comparisons. Not every potential reader would willingly subscribe to both, and if a choice had to be made, the reading public would endeavour to discover which offered the better value. Unless, then, the Edinburgh Magazine could offer something new, it would suffer in the comparison. Already, in the second volume (1758) an anxious note is sounded. Ruddiman expresses regret that the demand in Scotland for English magazines is as great as ever, when his countrymen, by purchasing only his publication, could have enjoyed the profit of reading all that was best in the English periodicals, abstracted and drawn together under one cover by judicious selection. It seems as if he had been nursing the fond belief that

there was room for a Scottish retailer of English news and belles lettres, that he could count upon the uncomfortable feeling among the Scots of being 'outsiders', their awareness that they were rather far away from the centre of political and literary activity, so that they must have some intermediary to keep in touch with English and European affairs, channelled through London. All might have been well if the statement in the letter of advice from Volume I, already quoted, had been true, that few Scots were reading English publications. But again in Volume III he observes with concern that five new English magazines have sprung up, even in the short period since his own monthly was begun. Perhaps, however, the cause for complaint was not all on one side: in this preface occurs the significant confession:-

> We must, indeed, confess a too frequent, but involuntary, transgression in one point, the period of publication.

Bound up in the Edinburgh Signet Library copy of Volume V and placed before the May number are four pages of editorial matter that can only be regarded

as a species of advertisement, intended to boost the flagging sales by offering something new, and reassuring the public that the annoying irregularity of publication date would be rectified. The first page starts off :-

About the middle of every month, or sooner, Price 6d. will continue to be published,

THE/EDINBURGH MAGAZINE

CONTAINING

A general representation of the Religion, Manners, Politics, Entertainment, etc. in GREAT BRITAIN, and in particular Scotland: Improvements in Arts and Sciences, Agriculture and Commerce; Essays moral and political, in prose and verse, Lists of New Books, with extracts and criticisms, Geographical Descriptions of the different Parishes in Scotland, with an account of their Curiosities, Soils, Produce etc. A Series of Historical Articles, foreign and domestic; Lists of Captures, Marrieges, Births, Deaths and Promotions; with a Detail of every occurrence, curious, entertaining, or instructive, in the different Regions of the Globe.

The emphasis on Scotland is praiseworthy, but the real novelty obviously that might attract new purchasers is the 'Geographical Descriptions of the different Parishes in Scotland,' a project which, if fully carried out, would have ante-dated Sinclair's 'Statistical Account.' As will be observed later from the Weekly Magazine, this idea was dear to Ruddiman's heart.

There follow some more mundane details, interesting nevertheless to students of a later age, showing that everything possible was being done to facilitate subscription :-

Subscriptions for the Edinburgh Magazine are taken in by WALTER RUDDIMAN junior, WILLIAM AULD and Company, at their Printing house in Morocco Close, and by all the Booksellers in town and country.
*** Those who desire to have this Magazine by Post, may send their names to any of the Clerks in the General Post Office, Edinburgh who will furnish them regularly when published.

This formal announcement is followed by an Address to the Public, in which the publisher voices his worry about the competition of English magazines, and concludes with an assurance :-

...At the same time as we are making liberal promises to the Public, it is our duty to confess an error for which they have a just title to our acknowledgments, and that is a transgression in the period of publication. This, however involuntary, has occasioned repeated complaints, which, for some time, it was not in our power to remedy. But now that every obstruction is removed, the Public and our readers may be assured that, for the future, we shall continue to publish at the time prefixed to the top of this Address, and on many occasions we will endeavour to anticipate their curiosity...
Those who please to favour us with Essays, (post paid) either in prose or verse will find our Magazine a ready vehicle for such Scots productions as may deserve notice. Such correspondents we freely invite, and shall thankfully acknowledge the obligation.

The remaining two pages of the advertisement

contain a list of the more important articles that had appeared to date in the Edinburgh Magazine: originals are marked with an asterisk, so that one immediately observes the proportion of original pieces to be very small, less than one in six.

But all would not avail. The sixth volume, for 1762, was the last, and bore on its opening pages a valedictory verse address to the readers, with the first line of Virgil's last Eclogue slightly adapted as an appropriate motto - Extremum hunc nobis, Arethusa, concede laborem. Here, after reviewing the topics covered in his magazine, especially 'History,' Ruddiman accounts for its downfall. At the same time his own shortcoming is admitted, though perhaps belittled :-

> ...The fault of Fabius was our only crime.
> Till, full blown from the South, a motley band,
> Like Goths and Vandals, overspread the land.
> In various shapes, with various leaders, rose,
> Of names terrific as the Prussian foes.

Nevertheless it was possible to end gracefully, not in carping criticism of others, but in a genuine expression of pleasure that his Magazine had lived just long enough to chronicle the cessation of host-

ilities in the Seven Years' War :-

...Yet let us fall, some little praise is due;
We brought the Laurel, bring the Olive too:
Supremely happy, if, in those approv'd,
You now vouchsafe the countenance we lov'd,
Happy at least, that war and discord cease,
And we and Caledonia sleep in peace.

It is interesting to note that he blames not the Scots Magazine, but English publications for his failure. Was it true that there was no room for two monthlies in Scotland, as D.S.M. Imrie suggests?[1] Does Ruddiman's own assessment of the situation not point to another significant factor? He blamed his countrymen for being unpatriotic: they preferred to look to England. But was not his own Magazine largely a reflection of England? Possibly his countrymen preferred to look to England because there was at that time nothing to look at in Scotland. Culturally, the period 1757-1762 pales beside the epoch of the successful Weekly Magazine, from 1768 onwards, with its rich outpouring of activity in the fields of literature, general culture and social progress.

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1 Op. cit., 105.

CHAPTER II THE EDITOR OF THE 'WEEKLY MAGAZINE'

In the summer of 1768 appeared the first number of the Weekly Magazine, dated Thursday, 7th July. The title page of the first volume sets out the publisher's aims quite modestly :-

THE
WEEKLY MAGAZINE
OR
EDINBURGH AMUSEMENT.
CONTAINING
The ESSENCE of all the MAGAZINES, REVIEWS, NEWSPAPERS, &c published in Great Britain: Also EXTRACTS from every new Work of Merit, whether political, literary, serious or comical; being a Register of the Writings and Transactions of the Times.
VOLUME I.
Floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia libant,
Omnia nos.
EDINBURGH
Printed by and for WAL. RUDDIMAN, Jun.
Forester's Wynd, Lawn-market.
MDCCLXVIII

It may be asked what chance of success Ruddiman had, if he offered nothing more than this. In fact, comparison with the title page of his Edinburgh Magazine might suggest he was offering even less than

before: the promise of 'essays moral and political' had had to be withdrawn, since they were not forthcoming, and no improvement in the position could reasonably be foreseen. Pessimistically, one might have prophesied the early death of yet another literary digest that retailed only reprints and abstracts. But Ruddiman's trump card, on which he staked his chance of survival, was obviously the guarantee of weekly, instead of monthly publication. Releasing his copy with such frequency from the press he could almost hope to vie with the tri-weekly newspapers, since his journal, too, carried a news section. Moreover, in days when news travelled slowly and rumour was current, he might even beat the newspapers on their own ground, offering a more balanced view and panoramic picture of the 'transactions of the times.' But Ruddiman was not likely to be content with editing a weekly newspaper: the man who in 1758 had expressed particular pleasure at the healthy state of Scottish belles lettres (Preface to Volume II of the Edinburgh Magazine) must have cherished the desire one day to foster

the productions of native literary ability; meanwhile the news section would enable him to keep his head above water. And in any case the frequency of publication might whet the purchaser's appetite: important and lengthy articles could be serialised without losing the reader's interest through delay; subscribers might be tempted to become correspondents by the prospect of participating in something like the cut-and-thrust of real debate over controversial issues. This greater frequency, however, made the duties of the editorial chair more arduous than before, and such as to claim most of Ruddiman's attention for the rest of his life. Since he had experienced difficulty in keeping to his deadline with a monthly, it might be feared he would have serious trouble meeting his obligations with a weekly; but, in fact, he hardly ever had to apologise to his readers for delay.[1]

Volume I opens with two verse addresses composed

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1 I can find no evidence for Imrie's statement (op. cit.,p.104) that Ruddiman had previous experience of conducting a newspaper, the Caledonian Mercury. It seems Imrie has confused Walter Ruddiman with his uncle of the same name, who is described in his will as printer of this paper (Johnston, op. cit.,p.87).

by Ruddiman himself: the first a judicious and politic dedication to a most influential citizen, Sir Lawrence Dundas, Member of Parliament for the City of Edinburgh, referring incidentally to Sir Lawrence's patronage over the two most talked-of local construction projects of the day, Edinburgh's new town and the Forth-Clyde canal; and, secondly, an address to the readers. Ruddiman would be the last to claim he had a gift for poetry: his verses are nearly always simply a vehicle to express his policies without boring the reader by a solemn pronouncement in prose; but in the present instance the style is more than passable, especially in the dedication, where, since he quotes from Pope, he must perforce exert himself to avoid being shown up by the quotation. The implication of the Latin word Resurgo which heads the Address to the Readers, taken in conjunction with the incorporation of the old Edinburgh Magazine's Lucretian motto on the new title page, is quite clear. Between 1762 and 1768 Ruddiman considered himself temporarily silenced by the lack of public support, but not defeated. He did not feel

compelled to re-think his policies, and this latest verse prologue states emphatically that he intended to do again what he had done before, with his magazine divided into the same departments :-

> Iwho ere while, by emulation led,
> Fondly pursu'd the magazining trade;
> Explor'd the paths to literary fame,
> Gave genius praise, and merit all its claim;
> Survey'd the scenes of war with candid zeal,
> And mark'd each hero as he fought or fell;
> Or oft, with charms of pow'rful fancy smit,
> Travers'd the fields of poetry and wit;
> Again embark, anew invoke the gale,
> Resume the helm, and spread the willing sail:
> Again review the progress of the mind,
> The actions, passions, humours of mankind:

Most praiseworthy is the declaration of intent to avoid the worst, and promote only the best, in the sphere of political journalism :-

> Yet still avoid in party rage to rake,
> Let Faction sleep, but bid the Patriot wake.

Analysis of a typical early number of the magazine shows a general similarity to the Edinburgh, and to others of the day, such as the Scots, allowing for the smaller number of pages in a weekly. Of a total of thirty-two pages, approximately half is made up of general prose articles, followed by two pages of poetry, and the sum is made up by 'Reviews',

and 'History' (arranged so as to begin with foreign news and end with home news from Scotland). Apart from some poems signed J.T. (possibly by John Tait, an Edinburgh Writer to the Signet), the somewhat mysterious letter already referred to in Chapter I, and another interesting letter which will receive mention in a later chapter for its evidence of the public reaction to Scottish poetry, the whole of the first volume - thirteen numbers - contains nothing but reprints, and the second is not much better, apart from some muted rumblings of controversy, and, significantly, in a Scottish magazine, the first controversy that reared its head was a religious one. This sort of situation was only to be expected at the beginning, before the publication established itself; but gradually things began to improve, until, in its hey-day, about the year 1773, when Fergusson's poems appeared in its pages, nearly all the general articles in the Weekly were originals.

The time has come to seek for an answer to certain questions, perhaps the most important that will be raised in this study. In what way did Ruddiman

exert his influence so as to become an editor, instead of merely a proprietor and publisher? What objects did he seek to promote? What canons of taste did he apply? Was his judgment entirely impartial, or was it coloured by prejudice in such matters as religion and politics? Did he ever become involved in serious differences of opinion with his readers and correspondents over his own principles?

The evidence as to Walter Ruddiman's views on politics and religion will be dealt with first, since it can be the most briefly disposed of. Not unnaturally in a family that belonged originally to the north-east of Scotland, the traditional loyalties of the Ruddimans were Jacobite and Episcopalian, as instanced by the career of their greatest member, Thomas the grammarian; likewise we have the testimony from G.H. Johnston, handed down to his mother, herself a descendant of the family, that Walter's son and successor Thomas was a Tory and Episcopalian by belief.[1] It may thus easily be

1 Op. cit., p.55.

supposed that Walter himself held views similar to those of his son. Not very much of this, however, comes out in the Magazine. If his religious views appear at all, they emerge as broadly Protestant, and such anti-Catholic expressions as do arise probably represent deference to the easily-inflamed theological feelings of his Scottish readers, rather than any personal animus. Thus at the end of the number for 24th February, 1779 (XLIII,216), he announces that he will not consider any more articles on the subject of Roman Catholic toleration. But this statement must be seen against the larger background of his attitude to religious controversy generally, and indeed to all controversy of the type that his journal attracted. Earlier in the same month he had bitterly deplored the extremism of a correspondent arguing against toleration for Roman Catholics:-

> We are sorry, that, throughout the foregoing reflections, the bigotted zeal of the author should have instigated him to use such an illiberal manner of expression, which nothing, but a testimony of our impartiality in this most disagreeable dispute, could have prevailed on us to indulge with a place in our Miscellany. (16th February, 1779, XLIII,153).

Uppermost here is a desire to see fair play, to keep his own personal beliefs out of sight. The same feeling is apparent in editorial notes to a purely secular dispute in which he might have been thought to be not entirely disinterested, concerning the respective merits of two Latin Grammars, one by his uncle and the other by Alexander Adam:-

> We have inserted the two following pieces, in hopes that they will prove the preliminaries of a peace; and that this bellum horribile grammaticale will now cease. (3rd September 1772, XVII,307).

But the hope was premature:-

> Although we (and we heartily believe many of our Readers) are heartily sick of the late grammatical contest, yet, as we have admitted so much on the one side, impartiality demands, that we should not utterly reject what may be offered in defence of the other: We therefore hope to be excused for giving a place to the following, especially as such Readers to whom the subject is either uninteresting or unintelligible, have ample compensation in an abundant field of variety independent of these strictures...
> (11th February 1773, XIX,212).

He can hardly be accused of not wishing his miscellany to become a forum for free discussion; if anything, he erred slightly in the opposite direction, letting a controversy run on, from anxiety to be fair to both parties, when he should have exercised a firmer hand; perhaps a little unwise in not foreseeing

how acrimoniously such correspondence would develop, until it lost its interest for all except the contestants; but, as may be seen from the number for 24th February 1779, already referred to, he did learn by hard experience. The most self-consciously defensive editorial expression on the subject of religion came from his son Thomas, after Walter's death in 1781, introducing the memoirs of Father Sarpi:-

> Those who think the tenets of the Roman Catholic church inimical to the rights of mankind, will perceive a wonderful phaenomenon, in beholding one of their warmest advocates in a cloystered monk; and while fanaticism, which is of all religions, will persecute such a Character with unrelenting rage, humanity will hail him as her favourite son.
> (20th September 1781, LIII,329).

In the field of politics, much attention throughout the first ten volumes was paid to the extraordinary career of John Wilkes. Most of the notice he attracted was unsympathetic: often he became the target for satire, and even the references to him in the otherwise fairly impartial news section display a hostile bias. But unfortunately nearly all these anti-Wilkes pieces are reprints, usually from English publications, and the Weekly Magazine editor's

attitude is hard to determine, except perhaps in so far as he may have exercised some principle of selection in deciding which articles to reprint. He does appear to commit himself fairly decisively in a verse address 'To the Readers of the Weekly Magazine' at the end of Volume VI:-

...Doubtless I'm fond of popular applause,
Tho' not like Wilkes, by spurning king and laws;
Nor arrogantly claim, nor meanly sue,
My Lords, my Commons, my Electors you.

But too much importance should not be attached to these lines taken out of context: the whole address is one of Ruddiman's least distinguished verse compositions, both in style and content. He seems to be reciting what was the right thing to say, expressing conventional attitudes so as to offend nobody. The review of 'A North Briton Extraordinary; written by a Young Scotsman, now a Volunteer in the Corsican Service' which appeared on 2nd March 1769 (III,277-280) probably represents Ruddiman's own sentiments, and shows that, in Scotland, feeling against Wilkes was inspired at least as much by nationalism as by any fear that he represented a threat to the law and order of established government:-

This spirited performance merits the perusal of every Scotsman who has the seeds of honour or independence in his breast. The author not only retorts, with coolness and temper, that torrent of slander and abuse so liberally bestowed on the Scots nation in general by the KING'S BENCH HERO; but by a series of arguments, deduced from incontestable facts, refutes the gross calumnies and false aspersions thrown out against the inhabitants of North-Britain, by a writer of the worst heart and worst principles...

The editor's political loyalties are even more openly declared in the notes he wrote introducing to his readers the Letters of Junius (4th January 1770, VII,21; 1st March 1770, VII,277), especially the Letter to the Right Honourable LORD MANSFIELD (29th November 1770, X,270):-

We have lately had a fresh specimen of the virulence of the writers on the side of opposition. That arch incendiary Junius, after reviling the most dignified names in the kingdom, and, in a manner, storming the throne itself, has at last made an attack on one, whose reputation is, perhaps, the most unsullied and irreproachable of the age;...whose character in general, as a man, a subject and a lawyer, has hitherto baffled all the efforts of malice, and has never once been impeached except by this scurrilous writer and his cpmpatriot Wilkes...

It should be remembered that Lord Mansfield was a Scot: thus national feeling is illustrated here, as well as loyalty to the Crown.

In the quotations so far adduced, one may assume

Ruddiman's sentiments would have been approved by the majority of his readers, but there is one instance where his opinion, emphatically stated, did not find favour. In the History section for 26th January 1775 (XXVII,160) the following entry appears under the heading MARRIAGE:-

> In France, Mons. J.J. Rousseau, the celebrated philosopher, to a very young girl. This incident ridicules philosophy, and disparages age; since, taking into consideration the cynical character, the years and corporeal infirmities of this man, there could not be so preposterous a subject for matrimony found amongst our species.

The appearance of this entry in the History section might suggest it was copied verbatim from some other source; but the Scots Magazine, one of Ruddiman's favourite quarries for borrowing, merely records the marriage without comment, so that the censure is possibly original. Plainly Ruddiman was annoyed not so much at the disparity of age as by what he considered the unsavoury character and atheistical tendencies of Rousseau. This time he struck fire. Two weeks later (9th February 1775, XXVII,198-199) a correspondent wrote, not merely to disagree, but to demand retraction of the strictures on Rousseau's

marriage. The editor did not oblige.

Foremost among international events of concern to the British people during the Weekly Magazine era was the American War of Independence. If anything could have tempted Ruddiman from his loyalty to the government of the day, it might have been this. After all, he was to suffer from a Stamp Act just as the Americans did. But one must be cautious about reading sympathy for the rebels into the Weekly's extraordinarily extensive coverage of American affairs. Over against a statement such as this:-

> ...every article of intelligence relating to America is at this juncture interesting, especially such authentic papers as breathe the spirit either of the leaders or of the collective body... (24th August 1775, XXIX,276).

must be set another one:-

> As the unhappy contest with America is of the utmost consequence to these kingdoms, we think it incumbent on us to engross... every piece of intelligence relative thereto that bears the least mark of authenticity, in which we mean to observe the strictest impartiality. (28th September 1775, XXX,17).

His feelings are probably best summed up in a phrase from the last quotation, 'the unhappy contest with

America', and the expression he uses about the situation in a slightly later number (21st March 1776, XXXI,416), 'the mother and her deluded children', rules out any speculation that he might have supported the cause of American independence. The most obvious explanation of the extensive reports of American affairs is that it satisfied the readers' demands and interests.

Investigation would appear, therefore, to show that in religion and politics the Weekly Magazine editor supported the Establishment, probably fearing revolution because it spelt for him only anarchy and consequent human misery. His own words speak best on this, in the manner with which he introduces a poem on 31st August 1780 (XLIX,245-6):-

> The following poem contains a description of the situation of a Scots gentleman who had been obliged to leave his country for rebellion against our present happy government. It points out the fatal consequences of such treasonable attempts...

Nevertheless, Ruddiman's frequently avowed impartiality is beyond question; his obedience to the precept audi alteram partem gave the reader food for thought and a balanced view on subjects of the

day.

As a footnote to these observations on politics, brief mention may be made of the method of reporting Parliamentary proceedings during the later eighteenth century, a method common, in fact, to all the contemporary periodicals, but dealt with here for the purpose of clearing up a possible ambiguity that is confined to the pages of the Weekly Magazine. Throughout the first half of the century anyone who printed verbatim accounts of Parliamentary debates was liable to prosecution for breach of privilege, and magazine proprietors therefore had recourse to an indirect method: the transactions of the legislature were represented as being speeches made in a fictitious club, with the speakers' names thinly disguised. Thus the London Magazine had its Political Club, and the Gentleman's Magazine its Senate of Magna Lilliputia.[1]

The practice persisted into the second half of the century, and when the time came for the Weekly Magazine to take up the tale systematically, on 21st June 1770, the House of Commons Debates were

1 Carlson: The First Magazine, p.95.

represented as those of a Political Club. The speakers were given Latin names, but in most cases partial identification was added in parenthesis, e.g. Caius Coliatinus (Sir W- M-h). On 6th December of the same year, however, Ruddiman added an alternative fictitious title of his own:-

The Political Club. C-L B-'s Speech in the Robin-Hood Society.

Reports were given regularly in this guise until 18th June 1772, after which there was a gap. On 25th February 1773 the accounts were resumed, but now openly and under the title 'Parliamentary Proceedings', which changed on 8th April to the even more explicit 'House of Commons Debate'. In fact, it was at least in part owing to the much-maligned Wilkes that such increased freedom became possible for the press at this time.[1]

But in the pages of the same magazine, references are found to a second and totally different Robin-Hood Society, best described in the original footnote to Fergusson's 'Mutual Complaint of Plainstanes and Causey' as it first appeared in the

1 G.B. Smith, History of the English Parliament, II,303-305.

poetry section on 4th March 1773:-

A new instituted society, held weekly in the Thistle Lodge, where the grand concerns of the nation are debated by a set of juvenile Cicero's.

One wonders whether the founders of this club borrowed their title from Ruddiman. On 23rd December 1773 they changed their name to the Pantheon Society.[1] Examination of the context in the Magazine usually makes it plain which of the two bodies is being referred to, yet on 14th September 1775, when the title had ceased to be applicable to either, we find the following editorial head-note:-

Having been favoured by a worthy correspondent with the following piece from that antient seat of oratory, the Robin Hood, we could not hesitate to give it admission.

One has to look hard to find the allusion which alone removes the ambiguity, and it almost seems as if Ruddiman was tickling his readers with the illusion that 'that antient seat of oratory' might be the Edinburgh debating society.

1 D.D. McElroy: The Literary Clubs and Societies of 18th Century Scotland, p.228.

CHAPTER III THE EDITOR OF THE 'WEEKLY MAGAZINE' (Continued)

Ruddiman's pioneering work as an editor is probably best demonstrated in the section called 'Notes to Correspondents' which appeared at the end of the number for 31st March 1774, and thereafter was maintained regularly right up to the demise of the magazine in 1784. Evidence, however, exists (e.g. 3rd September 1772, XVII,304; 31st March 1774, XXIV,16) to show that this section was not then initiated, but had from some unknown earlier date been printed on the blue paper covers; these covers were, of course, cut away and lost forever when the volumes came to be bound. The transfer of the Notes from blue covers to the body of the magazine was ostensibly made by the editor out of gallantry, since it was requested by a lady correspondent (XXIV,16), fortunately for posterity.

The first set of Notes that have survived may

be used here to illustrate the general principles involved in the whole series. Nominally the Notes are simply an acknowledgment of articles received, but having made the acknowledgment the editor makes further observations by means of which the articles can be arranged according to three categories:-

1. Articles which are completely acceptable and will therefore be published, though not necessarily in the very next number.

2. Work which will be published only after the editor has made corrections.

   e.g. HONESTUS must excuse some necessary alterations. He will please consider that vague declamation, however it may pass in Parliament, will not please a private Reader. Something must be said to the purpose.

3. Contributions that are rejected, with reasons given.

   e.g. AMOR ought to go to school again, or be exposed as a wild beast in the Dunce's Den.

In addition, advice or criticism may be offered that does not apply to any one correspondent.

e.g. It would seem that many of our late Poetical Correspondents have been bred in Grub Street. Most of their pieces are either Sing-Song or neither

Prose nor Rhime.
...N.B. We would be much obliged to our correspondents if they would prefix titles to the subjects they write on, which would give the reader some glimpse of what he has to expect.

It would appear that his correspondents did not take this last piece of advice to heart, for on 28th December 1775 the editor's intention to supply titles for the essays is announced. In examples like these we see the real business of editing: revision and correction is undertaken, titles are provided, and - rather unusual - reasons are given for rejection, even when not strictly required.

As may be seen from one of the foregoing quotations, Ruddiman was distressed by the low standard of poetry submitted. The preface to Volume II shows that he did not place very much importance on the verse section - "The poetical department is calculated for the tribe of juvenile readers" - and although in the Notes to Correspondents on 17th February 1779 his policy is proclaimed as to provide seria mista jocis, one feels that the seria meant more to him than the jocis. So monotonously derivative is the general run of poetry in the

Magazine that his disparagement need not surprise us. And yet one can see why the would-be juvenile poets were so plentiful. For them poetry was a more attractive medium than prose: there was something of the joy of creation in expressing their ideas through words that rhymed, lines that scanned, and models for imitation were ready - too ready - at hand. Emotions like love and grief need cause no embarrassment when expressed in the mannereal patterns of convention, and inanities seemed inanities no longer when dressed in the second-hand imagery of pastoral. But some versifiers could not even attain to the standard of passable mediocrity; on them the wrath of censure fell heavily. Sing-song style, juvenility, deficiency in metre, sentiment, and expression are some of the commonest objections; the phrase 'like Sternhold and Hopkins' was several times conveniently, if rather unfairly, employed to indicate that a metrical form unsuitable to the thought had been chosen.

From this context alone does it appear that Ruddiman had a sense of humour e.g. 7th September

1775:-

Autumn (still requires correction; and if not speedily done, Autumn herself will escape and leave the poet to sing Winter). (XXIX,352)

and on 15th May 1777:-

Knave of Clubs (We were obliged to throw out the Knave of Clubs at this hand, as he would have spoiled the game). (XXXVI,240)

But Ruddiman's most powerful weapon, already mentioned in quotation, was that 'Dunce's Den' of which Fergusson expresses his fear in the 'Codicile' to his 'Last Will'. Evidence exists (XX,79) to suggest that it too had led a previous ephemeral existence on the blue covers. As it officially appeared only twice within the covers, both occasions may be drawn upon to describe its nature and function. It was simply an appendix to the Poetry section, the offending piece being printed in full under the heading 'Dunce's Den' and a scathing introductory note from the editor. Thus at 29th September 1779 we find these words:-

The Elegance and Sublimity of the following Verses on the appearance of a French squadron on the east coast so justly intitle them to a place (in this department) that we could not hesitate to comply with the solicitations of our juvenile correspondent, in hopes that he may in time rise a bar higher

in the Poetical Scale.

The piece is in doggerel, but from the uninspired, if more polished, verse usually to be encountered, even doggerel provides an amusing relief, as in this anticipation of McGonagall:-

> With what scornful horror does it Britons fill,
> To see their perfidious enemies off the Calton-hill?

The other instance is at 11th January 1781:-

The very singular elegance of the following Verses entitle them to a place in this department, which may perhaps afford some gratification to our Correspondent's literary vanity.

The first stanza of this curiosity, On New-Year's Day, is somewhat reminiscent of the ludicrous play-acting passages in A Midsummer Night's Dream:-

> Lo! now at last
> Th'old year is past
> And, lo! another is begun;
> And moving still,
> Nor stop it will,
> Until its race be wholly run.

But unfortunately the device of ridicule by exposure tended to defeat itself. Contributors, even of prose articles, wrote in to say they were not afraid of standing in the Dunce's Den (e.g. XXII, 168-171; XXIII,168-169). To appear in print

under that guise would obviously be better than not to appear at all. On two occasions (7th October 1773 and 21st October 1778) correspondents sent in poetry specifically for the Dunce's Den, but the pieces were published without the usual prefix, so that one wonders if the editor had really consigned them to the place of ignominy, or was merely humouring those who had made the request.[1]

If it is remembered that most contributors were identified by pseudonyms or initials, and some only by the title of the piece, then we may realise that public censure in the Notes, or exposure in the 'Den', was not such an embarrasement as might otherwise have been the case. The editor himself made this point in an address at the end of Volume XXX (416), while apologising for severity:-

> If we have sometimes appeared too severe in our remarks, let the sufferer reflect, that our situation is critical, and that for his consolation, though these notes are exposed to public view, they are only a whisper to himself the public being wholly ignorant of the application.

His criticism was intended to be constructive: as

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1 M.P. McDiarmid is thus wrong in his statement (op. cit., II,316) that the Dunce's Den appeared only once, on 7th October 1773, in its complete form.

he stated elsewhere (XXIV,160), 'if we have sometimes used the lash, it was meant in place of the spur.'

In contrast to all this, the brilliant meteoric progress of Fergusson through the Magazine's pages must have gladdened the hearts of the publishers, the sort of thing hoped for, rather than expected. It was rare for any poet in the Weekly to have his first attempts heralded by an announcement like that which preceded his three Pastorals on 7th February 1771 (XI,179). Possibly personal friendship may have been responsible for this, and for the fact that his work appeared in the Weekly rather than the Scots, nay, even for the fact that his work first appeared in a periodical at all. There is little doubt that the Ruddimans appreciated Fergusson at his true worth, as the Magazine obituary shows - stated by McDiarmid[1] to be the work of the younger partner, Thomas, who was the poet's junior by five years, and probably much in sympathy with him:-

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1 Op. cit., I,36.

> His talent of versification in the Scots dialect has been exceeded by none, equalled by few. The subjects he chose were generally uncommon, often temporary [i.e. occasional, topical]. His images and sentiments were lively and striking, which he had a knack of clothing with the most agreeable and natural expression. Had he enjoyed life and health to a maturer age , it is probable he would have revived our great Caledonian poetry, of late so much neglected or despised. His Hallow-Fair, Edinburgh Election, and Leith Races, are masterpieces of this stile, and will be lasting monuments of his genius and vivacity. (XXVI, 128)

The tribute goes on to state, what the publishers were in a position to know, that his genius was the cause of his downfall. Ever after, they used Fergusson as a touchstone by which to judge Scottish poetry (e.g. XLIII, 136), but the only writer whom they considered to approach anywhere near him was John Mayne (XLIV, 66; LIX, 152).

Walter Ruddiman was keenly aware of his good fortune in that his second magazine appeared during a period of increased literary activity in Scotland, whereas his first had struck a barren patch. The following passage does not refer specifically to Fergusson, but would be especially applicable to him, written as it was some months before the poet's death:-

We have endeavoured to foster the seeds of Genius, and from thence have reaped a more liberal and substantial harvest than any of our predecessors: Yet, had it not been for our exhibition, these valuable productions had still been buried.
(28th April 1774, XXIV, 160)

This justified optimism is reflected in the change in wording on the title page, which appeared at Volume XX (for original wording see p.20):-

THE/WEEKLY MAGAZINE/OR EDINBURGH AMUSEMENT./CONTAINING/The ESSENCE of all the MAGAZINES, REVIEWS, &c/ published in GREAT BRITAIN:/LIKEWISE, a Variety of ORIGINAL ESSAYS, chiefly the Productions of Men of Genius and Abilities in SCOTLAND./Also EXTRACTS from NATURAL HISTORY, and from NEW/PUBLICATIONS of Merit, whether Political, Moral, Physical,/Literary, Serious or Comical;/Being a REGISTER of the WRITINGS and TRANSACTIONS of the Times.

The further change at Volume XXII represents not a retraction, but rather a condensation of the above:-

THE/WEEKLY MAGAZINE/OR EDINBURGH AMUSEMENT./CONTAINING/The ESSENCE of all the MAGAZINES, REVIEWS, &c./ With a variety of ORIGINAL PIECES by MEN of LITERATURE,/both in PROSE and VERSE./Also EXTRACTS from NEW PUBLICATIONS of merit, on whatever/SUBJECT or SCIENCE./Being an entertaining RECORD of the WRITINGS and TRANSACTIONS of the TIMES.

Yet, surprising as it may seem, Ruddiman did not view his publication primarily as a literary periodical at all. In a very interesting Note 'To our READERS and CORRESPONDENTS' at the end of Volume XXXVIII he reveals his policy at some length.

No potential contributor is to feel discouraged by lack of skill in composition, since matter is more important than manner. "There are few Gentlemen, even of ordinary education, to whom circumstances will not often occur that may prompt them to take up the pen." If elegance of expression cannot be attained without study, yet nevertheless most people of ordinary ability can express themselves in conversation clearly and without stiffness. Why should not this ease and clarity be preserved when they write? A certain minimum of stylistic competence must be maintained, but those who fail to meet the test are more likely to be guilty of inattention than of incapacity. And then, having shown how tolerant he is in matters of style, the editor goes on to list his personal choice of subjects according to order of preference in a way that leaves no possible room for doubt:-

(1) Utilitarian subjects (Agriculture, Manufactures, Fisheries, Commerce etc.)

(2) Arts and Sciences

(3) 'Speculative' subjects

(4) Poetry.

It is instructive to note that, in his estimation, style ranks in an inverse ratio to importance of subject. "A plain, simple mode of expression befits many subjects, and those of the most public utility ...Arts and Sciences next claim our attention, and give a more liberal scope for language."

One of the very few prose correspondents to receive unqualified praise from the editor was AGRICOLA (James Anderson, LL.D.), whose most usual topic was, in fact, consistent with his pseudonym, agricultural improvement - "His subject is too interesting to be buried in the common rubbish of entertainment" (XXVI, 224). Another project to earn commendation was that of the English travel writer Thomas Pennant, whose letter of queries to the gentlemen and clergy of Scotland requesting information about their respective parishes Ruddiman was glad to reprint to give it wider publicity (XVI, 201), generous in his encouragement of another's attempt to carry out the idea vainly advertised by himself in the short-lived Edinburgh Magazine, the idea that eventually in 1791 produced Sinclair's

great 'Statistical Account'. It would thus appear that Walter Ruddiman was very much in sympathy with the aims of the Scottish agricultural and industrial revolutions in the eighteenth century, and that, so far as lay within the power of a magazine editor, he helped to further progress, especially in the case of agriculture e.g. by publishing queries which seldom went without an answer from his more knowledgeable readers, many of them practical farmers. All this might be interpreted as an expression of the type of nationalism that does not indulge in sentimentality, but instead finds an outlet in advancing the economic development of one's country.

Almost inevitably, as a pioneer in the field of weekly magazine production over a considerable period, he came up against some of the problems of journalistic ethics. Each case recorded appears to have involved deception, or attempted deception, of the editor; not only did such things arouse his stern displeasure, but in the light of hard experience he had to formulate for himself precepts generally accepted in editorial practice today.

Plagiarism was the commonest cause of trouble - pointed out with certainty not less than seventeen times. Too often the editor was helpless to do anything; if the source of borrowing was an obscure literary work he could hardly be expected to recognise it, and the trick might be spotted by another correspondent only after it had been successful. The low standard of behaviour that could perpetrate such things might be thought to savour more of a school magazine than of an adult journal, but it must be remembered that the distinction between original and borrowed work was not then as clear as now. Someone who excerpted a lengthy passage or even an entire essay, and prefaced it with a line or two of introduction could have the result published over his own name as honourably as one whose piece was entirely of his own making. And, after all, the editor himself frequently borrowed articles wholesale from the monthlies. Unless these facts are borne in mind, Ruddiman's comment on the first successful plagiary (detected by another correspondent) might seem unduly complacent:-

> We recollect having seen Mr. Onysimus' piece long ago, (we believe in the Edinburgh Magazine); but as it might be new to a great number of our readers, we did not hesitate inserting it, though we highly disapprove of so mean an attempt to impose either upon the Public or the Publisher. (XVII, 46)

But no complacency can be detected in the following passage from a later volume; it is, in fact, the publisher's most explicit and emphatic denunciation of the practice:-

> We don't pretend to have every English author by heart, and the quick rotation of publishing often prevents us having it in our power to distinguish copies from originals; but that thief ought to be whipped through the country, with a label on his breast, denoting his crime, who has the impudence to pilfer diamonds, and make us venders of the jewels, as if honestly come by. (XXVII, 128)

The sources of these literary thefts are not always obscure: they include the Spectator, and even the Weekly Magazine itself; attempts to pilfer from the latter might have seemed doomed to failure, but at least one was successful (a poem appearing over the name EUGENIO on 11th August 1774). The editor did not, however, feel that in this instance his reputation for vigilance had been damaged (XXV, 256).

No firm stand could, of course, be taken against the insidious attempts of plagiarists, but in two

other matters, after succumbing once, Ruddiman was fortunately able to make a firm decision which prevented future embarrassment. On 7th February 1771 appeared a letter signed T.S. reporting the conduct of a Divinity student who gave a discourse in the Divinity Hall one Saturday morning and was later that day seen in a brothel. Three weeks later the editor realised that the whole thing might be an unfounded slander, and demanded that the informer should either maintain the truth of his assertion, or else withdraw it with apologies. If there was no response within eight days, Ruddiman himself was prepared to offer £5 for detection of the slanderer. The outcome is not recorded in the Magazine's pages, but more important was the resolution made not to admit such personal attacks in future:-

> ...it is equally remote from our Intention, and inconsistent with the Plan of our Undertaking, to publish anything injurious to private Characters...
> (28th February 1771, XI,273-4)

Frequently throughout later volumes this was the explanation given in the Notes to Correspondents for rejecting articles that were otherwise well

written.

The other affair involved a direct clash between publisher and correspondent. On 19th December 1776 in the news section it was reported that Taylor and Skinner, surveyors in Edinburgh, had been granted an interdict restraining the proprietors of the Town and Country Almanack from publishing the distances of the principal towns in Scotland from Edinburgh "because corresponding with their admeasurement, as delineated in their maps of the Scots roads." Ruddiman was not, however, content to report facts; he ventured an outspoken opinion that the action was an infringement of the liberty of the press and an absurd attempt to assert the rights of literary property. Messrs. Taylor and Skinner replied the following week, strongly defending their own point of view against the Weekly Magazine editor, but on the same page appeared an independent letter siding against them, written from Aberdeen by one calling himself A Friend to Liberty. Taylor and Skinner seem to have taken much stronger exception to this correspondent - perhaps because he revealed

their shortcomings in other directions - than they did to the editor - if one may judge by the full and final report on 9th January 1777, the only occasion on which Ruddiman was really angry in print. According to this report, Taylor had demanded to know the identity of A Friend to Liberty. In a moment of weakness Ruddiman disclosed the name, trusting that improper use of it would not be made. But Taylor returned to the publishing-house with a scurrilous personal attack, asking to have it printed. Ruddiman did not absolutely refuse, but very rightly deferred publication until the paper might be forwarded to the gentleman in question, and his reply received. Unfortunately there was delay in transmission, Taylor became impatient, and, despairing of success in this quarter, had his scurrilous attack printed elsewhere, in the Edinburgh Evening Courant for Saturday 4th January 1777. Thus A Friend to Liberty had the embarrassment of having his identity disclosed to all the world (he was none other than the prolific periodical writer James Anderson, the Weekly Magazine's own respected correspondent

'Agricola'), and rightly he warned that private persons would thereafter be unwilling to write for the Weekly, for fear of similar disclosure. It is hard, in a later age, to adjudicate on the merits of the warring parties in this dispute during its earlier stages; legal views on copyright were only then in process of crystallisation, and although it may seem now absurd to claim a copyright in publication of the mileage between different towns in Scotland, the information might be hard-won to an eighteenth century surveyor. Taylor and Skinner's subsequent conduct was inexcusable by any standards; Ruddiman, too, might be censured, much more lightly, for his moment of weakness, but he amply atoned for it by his resolution which closed the affair in the pages of the Weekly:-

> In consequence of the above, we think it necessary to declare, that we will not in future give up the name of any correspondent, without legal compulsion.
> (9th January 1777, XXXV,96)

CHAPTER IV READERS' REACTIONS

Some periodical editors may have been in a strong enough position not to have to defer or even give ear to the wishes of their readers, but from the nature of his plan Ruddiman could not altogether afford to ignore the views of his public, and they were not slow to advise him on the conduct of his miscellany. The present chapter should thus in large part be regarded as complementary to the two previous ones dealing with editorial policy.

Very soon it emerged that some readers' conception of what a magazine should be was different from the editor's. They seemed to be living in an earlier age of literary ideals, since they wanted it to develop like the English Spectator of fifty years before:-

Sir,

I have usually a double entertainment from the papers in the fore-part of your Magazine, in reading them myself, and in observing how they are read by

> others. The greatest part of these papers carry in them either a couched or open censure of some part of our conduct. Sometimes truth is masked with fable, at other times we are instructed with plain narrative: But, though youth reproves, experience cautions and age intreats, I am sorry to say it, it seems to little or no purpose. I have observed a considerable number of readers as closely as possible, and yet I have scarce met with a single person who ever finds a paper which he thinks of applying to himself...How vastly different was the age in which the Spectator was written; then every paper carried conviction to almost every heart, and an amendment of conduct was a visible encouragement from every part of the kingdom.
>
> (12th October 1769, VI, 36-37)

That part of the fore-going quotation which suggests the Magazine should be a censor of behaviour, entertainment being added only to sugar the pill, finds corroboration a little later, in the issue for 22nd March 1770 (VII, 353). That part which, in effect, commands, "If the cap fits, wear it!" - the theory behind much eighteenth-century English satire - is amplified somewhat in a letter published on 15th October 1772 (XVIII, 75) - one is reminded of Fielding's words about "holding up the glass to thousands in their closets":-

> When ridicule makes its appearance upon a general subject, whoever feels himself affected by it may profit in private by correcting that part of his conduct which is censurable.

But about the year 1771 more progressive views on the Magazine's function began to emerge, moving away from the desire to have an essay periodical of the Spectator type. On 18th July 1771 an Edinburgh reader's opinion was given that one of the greatest merits of periodicals like the Weekly consisted in their being able to draw upon a pool of human experience from an extensive circle of correspondents, experience which was factual as well as reflective (XIII, 73). More significant was the submission, on 19th September 1771 (XIII, 360) that magazines, by influencing public opinion, could play an active part in nation-wide reform of social evils, such as the problem of vagrant beggars in Scotland.

Surprisingly, the news section did not meet with universal approval, although it appeared as frequently as once a week. Eighteenth-century readers undoubtedly followed current affairs with keen interest, and one must examine the evidence more closely to see what was wrong. One subscriber expressed himself thus:-

I approve of your plan in general, only think your news too stale, and not comprehensive enough as to

the various particulars relative to Great Britain: Were this part of your work improven, it would, I am confident, greatly enlarge its circulation, as your useful Magazine, in this case, would answer the purpose of most other newspapers in this kingdom.
(16th March 1769, III, 321)

Another reader, from Musselburgh, blamed not so much the Magazine's inability to keep up with events as the rapidity with which events succeeded each other:-

Your Magazine is the only paper I read for information of public occurrences and transactions: and although I am exceedingly well pleased with the miscellaneous collection, upon perusing the political history of this nation, I am often much difficulted. Far am I from imputing this to your arrangement, being fully sensible that you furnish us with extracts from the other papers, the most probable, and from the best authority the times produce. But, alas! the political wheel at present turns with such rapidity, that no impartial looker on can form any sensible thought before the whole plan is changed.
(10th January 1771, XI, 39)

There is a common factor in these two complaints, that the Magazine was not keeping up to date with political news - in other words, with news from outside Scotland, from England and abroad, for Scotland itself had no politics of which to boast. But it is difficult to see how these critics' wishes could have been met: in days when the dissemination of news was slow and unreliable, a weekly could hardly

provide up-to-the-minute and on-the-spot accounts of affairs in distant parts. To twentieth-century eyes the attempted juxtaposition of miscellaneous essays and factual reports of day-to-day occurrences seems incongruous. But these same critics - perhaps the editor, too, at that time - did not realise that it is no part of a magazine's function to provide 'hot' news. A magazine may, nevertheless, have an honourable place in the reporting and interpretation of current affairs - retrospectively. And the Weekly itself later moved in this direction, although admittedly yielding to external pressure from the Stamp Act (which discouraged magazines from vying with newspapers) when it published, for example, retrospective views of American affairs, covering anything up to a year at a time.

The reading public were not slow, either, to suggest specific subjects for inclusion in the Magazine's pages. Religious controversy has long been dear to the Scottish heart, and by no means confined to the eighteenth century, as examination of more modern newspaper correspondence columns will

show. Feelings were divided about this issue. When the topic of predestination came up in Volume II, two persons signing themselves respectively 'Alvarez' and 'Philoleutheros' deplored the possibility of the Weekly becoming "a vehicle of polemical divinity", but nevertheless their interest in the subject got the better of them, and brought that possibility a stage nearer by their own articles (II, 227-229, 369-371). Perhaps disputants became more bitter when religion was the theme of contention, but at any rate, the readers, like the editor himself, eventually came to see that controversy in general, conducted according to eighteenth-century Scottish ideas, was usually too abusive to be interesting. At a time when the price of the Magazine had been increased, and the editor might consequently have been expected to be in difficulties through falling support, a correspondent from Dunbartonshire calling himself 'Lycidas' came to Ruddiman's aid with the suggestion that the review section might be expanded to the extent of taking over bodily whole numbers of the Monthly Review, serialised over four

weeks, as was the practice of the London Chronicle (XXXVII, 183-184). One feels glad that this proposed innovation was not adopted: it would have destroyed the whole character of the Weekly. As the nineteenth-century Edinburgh Review was to show, there was room for this literary form to develop so as to fill a whole periodical, but in the eighteenth century, according to the conditions laid down by 'Lycidas', it would have been a dreary prospect: a magazine filled with reprints, and reprints moreover of reviews that were frequently not reviews in the modern sense at all. For, as may be seen from the strictly circumscribed department regularly passing under that name in the Weekly itself, the term was all too often taken to mean a series of lengthy extracts with little or no comment, sometimes even no introduction. It may also be argued that eighteenth-century Scotland was not ready for the uninhibited criticism which characterised the famous Edinburgh Review: witness the fate of its two little-known precursors formed on something of the same plan - the Edinburgh Review of 1755-1756 that ran to only

two numbers, and the Edinburgh Magazine and Review, 1773-1776, terminated after three years. In each case the end came because the reviewers had been too outspoken.

Two correspondents put up for discussion by their fellow-readers the type of subject that was popular with eighteenth-century debating societies (XII, 82; XIII, 367), e.g. "Whether or not has Trade and Navigation, Arts and Sciences been more productive of ill than good to mankind?" The response was half-hearted, each query provoking only a single answer, but as will be noted later, from 1774 onwards, the Magazine became a repository in a strikingly extensive fashion for speeches delivered in the Pantheon, an Edinburgh debating society. Requests were made elsewhere by two subscribers for publication in the Weekly of old documents written in Scots (XV, 138; XVI, 168), not, it must be noted, from any desire to keep alive the Scottish dialect, but from purely antiquarian interests. From time to time thereafter such documents did appear (e.g. XVII, 109). An interesting project was outlined

in the issue for 24th October 1771 (XIV, 97) by 'Discipulus' who wished to read translations from Latin and Greek; his letter demonstrates more than just the reverance for the classics one would have expected at that time, it shows appreciation of translation as a literary form:-

Sir,

Looking over one of your Magazines for April, I happened upon an explanation of some difficult verses in the Georgics. The first glance of Virgil reminded me of a scheme I have long wished to see at least attempted in our periodical publications, which is, that, among other miscellaneous subjects for entertainment, a passage inserted frequently from a Greek or Roman author, in a handsome English dress, would not be passed over, you may believe, by any of your readers. To render antiquated pieces of this nature the more acceptable, they behoved to appear not in the form of translations, but as so many originals: the thoughts and spirit of the author should chiefly be regarded, not his letters.

Here we have something approximating to Dryden's theory of translation, that the translator should imagine and set down what Virgil might have written had he lived in the translator's age and environment. A very notable example of this precept put into practice was the version of Horace, Book I, Ode IX in Scots, by 'Vanlu' of Aberdeen (28th January 1773, XIX, 146), for literary merit worthy to

stand beside Fergusson's rendering of Book I, Ode XI (which is, however, undated and did not appear in the Magazine). Classics of a different sort were requested by B. from Perth (XXXVII, 309-312), who considered that the original attempts at English poetical composition in the Weekly were unfit for publication, and that the editor could more usefully fill this section by reprinting selections from the greatest English poets. Stanzas 70 and 71 from The Faerie Queene, Book II, Canto XII, describing the Bower of Bliss, were quoted as a specimen of what was desired. Indeed, if the readers had a fault, it was that they were too keen to ask for reprints. Thus, a desire to have some of the articles from the Mirror republished (LII, 103) led to a flood of reprints that lowered the Magazine's character and contributed to its decline.

But no-one expressed a desire to have reprints rather than the original Scottish poems, especially Fergusson's, which appeared in the Weekly and contributed largely to its importance. The first Scots piece to be found there was not, however, by

Fergusson: it was a verse epistle in 'Standard Habbie' metre, 'To Mr. ALEXANDER ROSS at Lochlee, Author of the Fortunate Shepherdess, and other poems in the Broad Scotch Dialect' by 'Oliver Oldstile', i.e. James Beattie (1st September 1768, I, 275). Technically this must be regarded as a reprint, since it had already been published in the Aberdeen Journal for 6th June 1768, but almost certainly it reached a wider public by its second appearance. The poem sets out quite clearly the predicament of Scottish poetry at that time: no-one had yet appeared as a worthy successor to Allan Ramsay, and Beattie was prepared, somewhat prematurely, to hail Alexander Ross as the one who should succeed. Ruddiman did not have to wait long to discover how pleased the Magazine's subscribers were to see Scottish verse in its pages. In the number for 29th September 1768 'Philalethes' wrote:-

> Nothing of the kind has of a long while afforded me so much pleasure as the Scots Epistle inserted in your Ninth Number, which evidently shews its author to be possessed of no ordinary degree of poetic merit.

Fergusson's immediate popularity is reflected

by the number of references to him in the Magazine - no less than twenty-eight, excluding editorial notes. No sooner had he sent off four Scots poems to Ruddiman's journal than he was complimented in J.S.'s spirited verse epistle 'To Mr Robert Fergusson' that begins "Is Allan risen frae the deid..." (3rd September 1772, XVII, 305). This idea, that Fergusson was great enough to be considered the inheritor of Ramsay's place, forms the argument of an entire poem, appearing soon afterwards - 'The Muses' Choice' by the actor Frederick J. Gulon (22nd October 1772, XVIII, 114). Here we find the title, Poet Laureate of Edinburgh, humorously conferred on him in print for the first time. Clearly contemporaries of his own class regarded him very much as the poet of the capital city and eulogist of its institutions. As already noted by McDiarmid,[1] a facetious letter, signed 'Caius', in the issue for 6th January 1774 (XXIII, 63-64) predicted that Fergusson would turn Williamson's Edinburgh Directory into English verse. The same letter goes on to make another pronouncement:-

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1 On. cit., I, 69-70.

It is reported among the literati, that, at the earnest desire of Mr. R. F-n, P.L. there will speedily be published by John Richard Bushby, A.M. a new and impartial History of the City Guard, with the heroic actions and martial atchievements of that valiant and sprightly corps, from the earliest accounts to the present time.

- alluding, of course, to the poet's frequent literary baiting of the "black banditti". One of his poems (where the City Guard's Highland speech and severity fall under ridicule) is expressly mentioned in another allusion (11th February 1773, XIX, 209). A rustic's jocular account of his visit to Edinburgh describes how, when he dared to stand under the court-house eaves, "one of the gentlemen mentioned in Mr. Fergusson's Hallow-fair had me fast by the shoulder, and said I had incurred a fine." From a further reference, slight in itself, one might almost infer that Fergusson was thought of especially as an occasional poet, able to compose verses at short notice. It is found in a humorous letter on electioneering:-

My poor old nurse, whom I left at my former place of residence in the north, the MORALIST informs me was <u>killed</u> by a shower of <u>light guineas</u> that descended from the hat of my friend Sir <u>John</u>, as she was passing by the <u>Red Lion</u> window. Desire Mr. Ferguson to write an ELEGY to her memory, as

the more weighty affairs of the nation now more immediately require my attention.
(24th February 1774, XXIII, 269)

His death produced the usual crop of pastoral elegies, but the first poetic lament, written only two days after the event by J. Tait of Edinburgh, contains nothing artificial except somewhat heavy moralising, from which genuine sorrow and a sense of shock emerge. McDiarmid has already unearthed, with the help of the Magazine's pages, proof of a 'literary' love affair between Fergusson and a married lady, conducted under the names of 'Damon' and 'Stella' (rather like Burns's 'Sylvander' and 'Clarinda').[1] When the poet died, she was prompted to write in the Weekly upon seeing a pastoral elegy by C.K. (Charles Keith) of Montrose, in which it was unfortunately stated that the grief of the capital had been short-lived. There ensued in the poetry section, almost through consecutive numbers, a lengthy dialogue between the two, taken up partly with tribute to Fergusson, partly with mutual compliment, each answering in the metre of the other. Almost all the posthumous references

1 Op. cit., I, 30-32.

emphasise how untimely was the fate that cut him off. Two moral essayists quoted his works to illustrate their arguments just as if he were a standard author like Shakespeare (XXVIII, 167 quoting ll. 44-45, 48-52 of 'Good Eating'; XLI, 107 quoting ll. 67-72 of 'An Expedition to Fife'). One contributor at least knew or guessed how close was the link between poet and editor: on 11th July 1776, I.G. (possibly Isaac Grant, Edinburgh lawyer) apostrophized Fergusson thus:-

> And frae your works I'll steal a hint
> To send to Wattie;
> Poor man! in you a friend he tint:
> You was his dautie.

Minor poets in the Magazine paid him the inevitable compliment of imitation; the obvious examples, such as Keith's 'The Farmer's Ha' ' and Mayne's 'Hallow-E'en' have already been pointed out,[1] but I should like to draw attention to another possible, and unnoticed imitation. On 2nd January 1772, Fergusson's poem in Scots, 'The Daft Days', was published; on 27th February the Magazine carried an English poem 'February' by M- from Edinburgh. In

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1 McDiarmid, op. cit., I, 175-176.

each case there is initial emphasis on a particular month - in Fergusson's case December. In each case the poet begins by describing the bitter winter weather and the apparent death of Nature, after which there is a withdrawal indoors to convivial delights. The similarity of subject-matter only throws into stronger relief the tremendous difference in poetic worth. Comparison between the two shows in a startling fashion how wide was the gulf separating the vernacular poetry of Fergusson from the English poems that appeared in the same magazine - even, let it be added, the English poems of Fergusson himself.

On the whole, the relationship between readers and editor seems to have been very amicable, especially so far as the readers were concerned. Many of them would have agreed with him that 'Agricola' was the most interesting prose contributor, to be admired not only for the interest to Scotsmen of his subject-matter, but also for his courtesy and good breeding when engaged in controversy (XIII, 75). The use of pseudonyms, especially classical ones

like 'Agricola', is too extensive to pass without notice here. Both Ruddiman and his readers appear to have been in favour of the practice, but not entirely for the same reasons. As already pointed out in Chapter III (pp. 55-56) the editor was forced by hard experience to realise that the freedom of the press could sometimes be maintained only by the use of pen-names. A somewhat different justification was provided by one who himself chose the signature 'Aletheophilus':-

> The primary use of fictitious signatures is to distinguish the writings of one anonymous author from those of another. Besides this use, most of them have also another. The author shows his high opinion of some one of the antients, by assuming his name; or he makes profession of much regard for some virtue, by deriving his signature from its name in one language or another. (XXXI, 200)

There is no doubt that Ruddiman's literary judgment, expressed in the 'Notes to Correspondents', was highly valued and respected. It has already been explained (p.38) that these Notes were transferred from the blue covers to the interior of the Magazine at a lady's request. Her own words deserve to be quoted:-

> You would lay an additional obligation upon your readers, would you print the acknowledgments to your correspondents somewhere in the body of your Magazine. I have often, with great reluctance, parted with these, when sent to the binder, knowing that they would be forever lost; and what a pity this is, especially when I assure you...that I have often taken greater pleasure in reading these few lines than many of the papers in the Magazine. (XXIV, 16)

She was by no means the only one who, on receiving the week's issue, turned first of all to the Notes at the end, in the expectation of being diverted by the terse, sometimes humorous critical verdicts on articles received (e.g. XV, 70; XVII, 304).

The Weekly was especially praised for publishing so many originals and encouraging beginners; because of its policy, people were prompted to write who would not otherwise have thought of doing so (XIX, 9). For these and other reasons, it was frequently preferred to the Scots which suffered from accusations of dull lifelessness and comparative infrequency of publication. As 'Urbanus' from the Banks of Spey put it (possibly James Anderson writing under one of his many pseudonyms):-

> One would be apt to imagine, on comparing the Scots and Weekly Magazines, that since the commencement

of the last, our country had caught a new spirit, and that genius had all at once diffused its happy influences amongst us. (XVIII, 193)

Such is the influence of journalism that Ruddiman came to be regarded as a father-figure, with a kind of parental authority over his younger readers, especially female (XLVIII, 107). Lovers brought their problems to his pages: thus 'Dorothy Distress' from Mount Pleasant besought his advice with the words "You are a benevolent gentleman, and readily listen to the complaints of the oppressed", evoking the reply, "We are sorry we can administer no other consolation to our fair correspondent but Patience" (XIV, 144; cf. XVIII, 208). The Magazine figured, amongst other things, as a marriage bureau; one lady who used it in this way claimed the precedent of the Tatler and Spectator for women advertising themselves (XXXVII, 167-168). So extravagant, indeed, as to border on flattery, was the praise from 'Josiah Pedant' (Banks of Air) who held that the Magazine should be studied in schools and even that a statue of Ruddiman should be erected by correspondents in gratitude for having their labours published (XXVI, 77-79; XXIV, 302-304).

CHAPTER V DR. JOHNSON AND THE 'WEEKLY MAGAZINE'

[18th April 1775] I had with me a great bundle of Scotch magazines and newspapers, in which his Journey to the Western Islands was attacked with all the weapons which could be got together; and I read them to him almost the whole of the way to Richmond. I wish the writers of them had been present. They would have been sufficiently mortified. One ludicrous imitation of his manner, by Mr. Maclaurin,* was distinguished by him from the rude mass. "This," said he, "is the best. But I could caricature my own style much better myself." ...

*John Maclaurin had written a verse parody "On Johnson's Dictionary" printed in The Weekly Magazine for 14 January, 1773.[1]

The parody singled out by Johnson came from the pen of an Edinburgh advocate, later Lord Dreghorn, but was published anonymously. The introduction, in part, runs thus:-

...Be warn'd, young poet, and take head,
That Johnson you with caution read:
Always attentively distinguish
The Greek and Latin words from English;
And never use such, as 'tis wise
Not to attempt to nat'ralize...

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1 Boswell: The Ominous Years 1774-1776 ed. Ryskamp and Pottle (Yale Editions of the Private Papers of James Boswell) p.150; cf. Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides ed. Pottle and Bennett, pp.237-238.

After the introduction in octosyllabic couplets comes the actual parody, in blank verse, the aim being to make fun of the Latinised words in Johnson's Dictionary by using them in unsuitable contexts, or, one might almost say in some cases, by using them at all:-

> Little of anthropopathy has he,
> Who in yon fulgid curricle reclines
> Alone; while I, depauperated bard!
> The streets pedestrious scour; why, with bland voice
> Bids he me not his vectitation share?...

But the hostility of correspondents in the Weekly Magazine towards Johnson is too persistent to be explained simply by dislike of his literary style; probably it represents their method of retaliation against his strange deep-rooted aversion to the Scots which finds expression in the Dictionary and elsewhere. Broadly speaking, the attacks on Johnson can be divided into two categories: up to 1775 he was reviled chiefly for the 'Johnsonese' in his Dictionary; from 1775 onwards he was criticised, more extensively, for alleged misrepresentation in his Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland.

The anti-Johnson campaign was opened by the

editor, who on 9th November 1769 gave an extract from Archibald Campbell's Lexiphanes (London, 1767) - "On the Preference of Rhime to Blank Verse: From Lexiphanes, in a dialogue between a Critic, a Physician, and Dr S-L J-N" (VI, 170-174) in which Johnson speaks 'his own language.' This was followed four months later by a mock elegy entitled 'February' and written in a very assured style. Although signed 'D.B.' it is possibly a reprint; the reference to Johnson forms the climax, but cannot be called the theme of the poem:-

> The pension'd muse of Johnson is no more!
> Drown'd in a butt of wine his genius lies.
> Earth! ocean! heav'n! the wondrous loss deplore
> The drogs of nature with her glory dies.
>
> What iron stoic can suppress the tear!
> What sour Reviewer reads with vacant eye!
> What bard but decks his literary bier!
> Alas! I cannot sing - I howl - I cry -
> (15th March 1770, VII, 339-340)

On 9th January 1772 'Henry Plain' from Aberdeen (James Anderson once again) proudly defending his own use of Scottish idioms, could not refrain from reviling one whose influence he saw as fatal to the continued existence of Scottish speech. So carried away by patriotism was he that he expressed

himself in a faulty sentence lacking the expected principal clause at the end:-

> And although he [the writer] knows that the most celebrated literary pedant that this age has produced* hath endeavoured to cast a general obloquy upon a nation that will disdain ever to allow him a place among the literary worthies, and hath been blindly followed by a croud of little critics, who, unable to think for themselves, cry out with vehemence against every phrase that is peculiar to the Scots, as bad language, although it would perhaps be no difficult matter to make it appear, that many of these words and phrases which they comprehend, are better than those they would endeavour to substitute in their stead.
>
> * Dr Samuel Johnson, who is yet alive. This remark shall be thought more just a hundred years hence, if it shall exist so long.

(XV, 40-43)

Fergusson made his own contribution to the campaign with two poems, To the PRINCIPAL and PROFESSORS of the University of St ANDREWS on their superb treat to Dr SAMUEL JOHNSON and To Dr SAMUEL JOHNSON: Food for a new Edition of his DICTIONARY (2nd September and 21st October 1773). The former may be taken chiefly as an answer to the famous Dictionary definition of oats. It suffers from diffuseness towards the end, certainly from line 83 onward, perhaps even from line 61, but within these limits displays intensity of poetic venom.

Especially notable is the way in which the homely Scottish fare, that Johnson according to his oats definition would be expected to despise, is made almost an instrument of torture (ll. 45-58). Perhaps the most telling stroke is delivered at line 60, by something akin to Swift's satiric method of 'looking through the wrong end of the telescope,' when the victim is reduced in stature, seen in an unfamiliar context, through the application of the Scots proverb "Ill bairns are ay best heard at hame." His other poem is constructed according to the same formula as Maclaurin's parody, but is more successful because entirely addressed to Johnson whose words are thus cast in his teeth, whereas Maclaurin had used the Latinised vocabulary to describe an imaginary Edinburgh street scene rather languidly. Moreover Maclaurin leaves each Johnsonian word somehow in isolation, its meaning perfectly clear from the context. Comparison shows that Fergusson uses 'Johnsonese' with roughly the same frequency - one specimen per line - and yet by subtle verbal and syntactical patterns achieves

a cumulative effect, giving at times the impression of speaking a foreign language, e.g. 52-54:-

> Have you as yet the way explorified,
> To let lignarian chalice, swell'd with oats,
> Thy orofice approach?

an impression strangely suitable, since Johnson is depicted during his visit to a 'foreign' country. Approaching brilliance in its own way is the passage where the poet works himself up into a mock frenzy over Edinburgh Town Council's failure to confer the freedom of the city on the distinguished visitor:-

> BAILIES all,
> With rage inflated, Catenations tear,
> Nor ever after be you vinculiz'd,
> Since you that sociability denied
> To him whose potent Lexiphanian stile
> Words can PROLONGATE, and inswell his page
> With what in others to a line's confin'd.
> (31-37)

Other references to Johnson's use of language lack the sustained power of Fergusson's attack. Nevertheless some valid objections are made in a letter to the editor signed 'Odo' (30th December 1773, XXIII, 15-17). This correspondent compared Johnson's essays unfavourably with those of Addison and Steele:-

I do, Sir, admire the ease, simplicity and elegance of the Spectators and Tatlers; but in the Rambler there are many stiff and mysterious expressions, a jargon of sonorous hissing words, which I never could comprehend...

and also criticised some entries in the Dictionary quite legitimately: the definitions of Whig, Tory, Revolution, Oats, Pensioner, Excise were cited as examples of political prejudice, and the illustration of the word Alias in the octavo edition (Mallet, alias Malloch) as a supposed instance of literary jealousy. It can scarcely be disputed that one of the functions of a dictionary is to clarify the meanings of words; with some justice 'Odo' demonstrated that Johnson's explanations had pushed certain words further into obscurity e.g. Chink, Cough, To breathe, Net-work, Twister, To twist. 'Scoto-Britannus' was another contributor interested in problems connected with the English language. One of his articles (13th January 1774, XXIII, 65-69) begins with the observation that English is in a state of flux, and proceeds to mention the case of authors alternating between the old and new spelling of words like connection/

connexion, antient/ancient. For reasons stated in the article, 'Scoto-Britannus' prefers what he calls the older forms ending in -tion, -tient; and he takes Johnson to task for writing connexion, ancient and for the etymology produced in the Dictionary to defend such spellings. To quarrel over such distinctions may seem absurd now, but examination of the context shows that the case is well-argued. The writer is not motivated by irrational prejudice to attack Johnson, but shows independence of mind:-

> Nor do I make any apology for being thus free with our great Lexicographer, as he is still alive, and may, by himself or myrmidons, repel any attack that may be made upon him. It is very probable that I may have occasion to reprehend him in many other respects, if I continue my remarks on this subject; but I shall never go out of my way to seek him, nor avoid the encounter when we meet. A great name will always impose upon the vulgar; but it is truth and rectitude alone that can command the applause of philosophic minds, or stand the test of ages.

The remaining references to the Dictionary are comparatively slight. Writing from an Ayrshire address 'Josiah Pedant' described himself as a country schoolmaster, and chose a fairly indirect method of attack, the method of ironical praise (17th February 1774, XXIII, 238-240). He explained

that he was a member of the Pedagogical Society, meeting monthly, "wherein we are _intirely_ directed by Dr Johnson's dictionary, it being the _unerring_ touchstone, at which every word must be tried." On one occasion the subject of debate was the method of discipline a school-teacher should use with his pupils. A very sensible and enlightened speech was made by a person "whom indeed we have in general a very slender opinion of," followed by a speech in favour of old-fashioned teaching methods including corporal punishment. Instead of speaking to the pupils in language they could understand, the second pedagogue preferred to address them in the language of the Dictionary:-

> Such language...must tend vastly to whet the ingenuity of our pupils, in order to discover our meaning. This book, Sir, is my _vade mecum_; every member ought also to deliver his precepts in a similar diction. A low stile, you know, does not at any rate become gentlemen of our profession.

This speech was vociferously applauded, and its arguments carried the day. Another suggestion, not entirely facetious, that Johnson's language might have a place in schools appeared in the number for 19th January 1775 (XXVII, 110-111):-

Were it [the Spectator] such a book, indeed, as the Rambler, it should no more appear abroad without a commentary, than a blind beggar without a dog; for Johnson has other names for things than we.

And here, by the bye, allow me to say thus much for the Rambler, which some people affect so much to cry down, that though it is not written in any of the known languages of the babbling earth, yet it has often been found of singular use to young children learning to read English, by exercising their yet untutored tongues upon words of seven syllables, wherein it is truly rich, and thereby fashioning them to the more fluent pronunciation of their own language; and this the experience of my younger years can attest.

'Johnsonese' was used by two other writers as a kind of literary flourish to embellish their composition, like a figure of speech:-

...unluckily spraining his ancle (which in the words of a learned pedant must have greatly impeded his itinerancy)...

(24th February 1774, XXIII, 272)

...the mimicative* nature of the monkey,...

*Is this good English, Mr Printer? - I have not Dr Johnson's Lexicon at hand to consult; but if you don't find the word there, you may insert it in the next edition you print off of that elaborate work, as it is as good English as some words already there, and more intelligible than many of them.

(16th February 1775, XXVII, 238; cf. XLII, 30)

The Scots seem to have been somewhat mollified during the actual period of Johnson's visit to their country in 1773, perhaps partly by the presence of

so learned a man in their midst, and partly by the compliments he was at times pleased to pay them. His progress through the country was fully reported in the news columns of the Weekly, with occasional revealing comments, e.g. in a letter from Inverness; "To see Mr Johnson in the mountains of Scotland is truly an extraordinary sight." (XXI, 415). As McDiarmid points out,[1] Fergusson's "unwonted show of respect for Johnson" in his Magazine epigram on Boswell and Johnson's being stormbound in Skye is explained by a news item in the same number, where one of Johnson's compliments is quoted. It is interesting to note that this poem of Fergusson's appears in the news section, immediately after the item on which it is a commentary. Now it was rare for poems to appear in the news section; they might occasionally be put in there if received too late for inclusion in the proper department, and the presence of Fergusson's epigram in an unusual place might suggest a specially close relationship between contributor and editor. On Johnson's return to Edinburgh, when Boswell was too busy with the Court

1 Op. cit., II, 311.

of Session to chronicle the great man's activities with his usual minuteness, the Weekly took upon itself to record his movements for part of the day Wednesday, 17th November, with a touch of humour and no real hostility:-

> Yesterday Dr Samuel Johnson came from Mr Boswell's, James's Court, and, taking a post chaise, was observed to make the following tour:- About two o' clock passed that magnificent pile of building, called the Luckenbooths, made a descent towards the spacious area of the Royal Exchange, took snuff opposite to Ossian's Head, turned his eyes towards the pillory, not disdaining a look on the city guard; afterwards took his departure from the Tron Church, to partake of the salubrious aerial fluid so poignant on the parapet of the New Bridge, to enable his appetite better to brook the hospitality of a Scots sirloin, which he participated the same day with his excellency general Oughton. (XXII, 256)

But early the next year the Magazine reproduced a provocatively anti-Scottish remark said to have been made by Johnson at a meeting of the Edinburgh Physico-Theological Society in answer to the question "Whether a man would accept of existence by choice" - "If he was to be an Englishman, he would exist by choice; if a Scotsman - by necessity" (XXIII, 400), and when in 1775 the Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland was published, trouble started all over again. Its appearance was certainly awaited with

interest and trepidation. An account of his life reprinted in 1774 (XXVI, 65-68) had rumoured that Johnson made the tour to collect materials for a history of Prince Charles Edward, and speculated that it might be curious "to learn the doctor's opinion of a people of whom he in general had conceived but an indifferent idea." As before, the editor opened the proceedings, not by any pronouncement of his own but by choosing to reprint an anti-Johnsonian piece, this time an informal review from a newspaper, the Caledonian Mercury.[1] The reviewer apologised for his own deficiencies by saying "the hand which traces these lines is saturated with brimstone, and the brain that gave birth to the ideas which they convey is contaminated by the acescent effluvia of undigested oatmeal, transmitted from the stomach by incessant ructation." He went on to suggest a different motive for the tour, namely that Johnson desired to make reparation for previous injury inflicted on the Scots by his writings. The performance, however, was judged not to come up to the intention:

1 He also published extracts from the Journey in Volume XXVII.

the author's compliments seemed awkward, since invective flowed more naturally from his pen than eulogy. Most serious of all, this reviewer considered the work stylistically a failure; ornate diction, admirable in an oriental fable, was felt to be inappropriate in a travel book (XXVII, 204-206).

One of the chief causes of offence to the Weekly Magazine circle, which included many agriculturists, was Johnson's comment on the lack of trees in Scotland. An attempt to answer this was made in a lengthy article by 'A Hater of Impudence, Pedantry and Affectation' (XXVII, 225-228, 257-260) who, like others, ridiculed the presence of 'Johnsonese' in a travel book. This contributor could not refute the allegation that tree-planting had been neglected in Fife, but retorted that the presence of coal made trees unnecessary in that county, and complained that Johnson had proceeded to make a generalisation about a whole country from limited observation of a small part of it, so as to ignore the work done by improvers in the

north-east like Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk. Gloomy remarks about the decay of St. Andrews University were very galling to national pride. 'A Hater of Impudence' sprang to his country's defence with the ingenious argument that the curtailment of Scottish university revenues after the Reformation was a wise measure, since it forced the professors to work harder for a living, whereas in colleges elsewhere (no doubt Oxford and Cambridge were implied) professors and fellows still dozed their lives away in unproductive but luxurious indolence. He reproved Johnson for being content to describe the depopulation of St. Andrews without examining the causes. Its prosperity had depended upon ecclesiastical revenue; when that revenue was removed, decline was inevitable, and should not be made a cause of reproach to the whole country, especially since the three newer universities had more extensive areas from which to attract students. If it is remembered that the Weekly Magazine represented the rising commercial classes, then the final criticism in this article

can be seen in its true light. Johnson's words "We stopped at Dundee, where I remember nothing remarkable, and mounting our chaise again, came, about the close of the day, to Aberbrothock" were used as a stick to belabour him for lack of perspective in his narrative, in that he lavished all his attention on places with historical associations, however decayed - and, one might add, however picturesque - so as to ignore the expanding centres of industry and population (cf. XXXI, 165-167 for a similar complaint).

Side by side with these expressions of affronted national pride, articles concerned with agricultural improvement were appearing. But even a writer on such a subject as enclosures could not resist the chance to look sideways at Johnson:-

> Dr Johnson was so much offended at the paucity of our trees, that the landed gentlemen seem resolved to have as much of the country planted before he returns as possible, so that he may have no occasion to use the vernacularity of his language upon this subject, but employ it all on the instability of human affairs, and professors of latinity. (XXVII, 230)

Other correspondents tended to echo the objections of 'A Hater of Impudence', but some new points were raised. 'Philoaletheios' declared that the

whole Journey was coloured by prejudice, and flew to the defence of Macpherson's Ossian with the retort that Johnson was simply not competent to pass judgment on the matter. So much damage had been done that he hoped the balance would soon be redressed by another English travel writer, Thomas Pennant, in his third volume (NXVII, 289-292). 'Urbanus' (Banks of Spey) tried to be fair: he gave Johnson credit as lexicographer, classical scholar and moral philosopher, but claimed to discover yet another motive for the composition of the Journey, namely to gratify the author's vanity and vent his spleen against the Scots. Much space was taken up by this critic in answering the attacks on the Scottish Reformation. He took particular exception to the phrases "Knox's reformation" and "ruffians of reformation".[1] How could Knox be held responsible for the entire Reformation? If a reformation by definition is good, how could the reformers be ruffians? He suggested Johnson had been bitter against the Reformation, not because it had any inherent defects, but because the reformers had collided headlong with

1 Pp. 7,8 in the 1775 edition of the Journey.

the Establishment, on account of circumstances peculiar to Scotland alone. Urbanus also mentioned the Ossian problem, but avoided the real question at issue, that of authenticity, and instead rated Johnson for not recognising the literary merit of the poems (XXVII, 321-325, 353-356). The Englishman's hostility to Macpherson was given a remarkable explanation by 'An Impartial Observer' (XXVII, 397-398): it was due, he said, to nothing less than literary jealousy. Unfortunately this contributor lacked the caution of 'Urbanus', and came out wholeheartedly in support of Macpherson's integrity. Further criticism that does not reflect much credit on the Weekly occurred at Volumes XXVII, 385-387 and XXX, 97-99. In the former place Johnson was censured for not drawing upon the works of Bailey and Shaftesbury in the compilation of his dictionary, also for daring to doubt the veracity of the Highlanders; in the latter for taking liberties with the English language in his Journey, by 'Scoto-Britannus' who, after a scathing introduction in which he declared he could find absolutely no good

in the book, went on to object to innovations in usage, even to the use of zeugma in expressions like "a laborious road." One wonders what this correspondent would have made of Shakespeare by applying similar rules.

Proof may be found in the Weekly that Johnson was attacked by Scotsmen in speech as well as writing. A visitor to Edinburgh was so well entertained by an evening spent at the Pantheon debating society that he saw fit to report the whole debate as well as he could from memory (15th April 1775, XXVIII, 75-78). The subject was "Whether is travelling or reading more conducive to a knowledge of mankind?" Since the Journey was then of topical interest, it is not surprising to find three speakers attempting to score points by censuring its author:-

> A young tradesman...displayed the many bars and hindrances that lie in the way of discovering mankind by travelling, or even perusing the peregrinations of modern travellers, wherein he was very severe on Dr Johnson...
> A young gentleman...was equally severe upon Dr Johnson (whose lexicographical stile he imitated in a very droll manner)...
> He [an ingenious] gentleman] was particularly severe on Home, Smollet, and Johnson, whose sarcastic, splenetic humour, or mercenary views, led them to misrepresent the most obvious facts in their narrations...

The campaign descended to lower levels of frivolity and scurrility in the hands of versifiers (XXVII, 256; XXXIII, 272 where Johnson is described as a bear mistaken for a philosopher), but it is among these same versifiers that we find the only correspondent willing to defend Johnson against attack (XXVII, 538). The last piece that merits attention in this account[1] came from the pen of a lady. In her 'Strictures on Letter Writing' (XXXVII, 108-109) 'Wilhelmina' argued that Johnson's turgid style was unsuitable for letters. Ironically affecting to be naive, she supposed that he would read the Weekly Magazine and take her advice to heart:-

> ...what a handsome compliment may I not expect to have paid me in his next publication, for removing the veil from his eyes, when he comes to read this in the Weekly Magazine. He is no doubt often conversant with your Miscellany, Mr. Printer, eager to hear the news concerning his old acquaintances, the honest Highland seers, and the country whose nudity rendered him splenetic during his melancholy perambulation of it.

an expectation that was unlikely to be fulfilled, unless Boswell drew his attention to the matter.

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1 Other unfavourable opinions of Johnson, either reprinted or retailed at second hand, occur at XXVII, 173; XXVIII, 13-14, 65-68; LVI, 22-23, 51-54; LVIII, 19-22, 42-46. A favourable opinion, from America, occurs at XXV, 43-45.

To sum up, it must be observed that this warfare was not very creditable to those who took part in it. The Scots had a valid point, without doubt, when they criticised Johnson for his Latinised diction, but they laboured it to death. Not one of them noted the improvement of his style visible in the Journey. To a certain extent they might have been justified in looking askance at the "pensioned patriot" (XXVII, 322), and calling him untrue to his principles; what was to be condemned, however, was not the fact that he accepted a pension after years of struggling poverty, but the injudicious earlier definitions of pension and pensioner in his Dictionary. One feels that the Journey had no chance of being favourably received by such people, unless it contained compliments all the way through, and even then they might have been suspicious. Their minds were already made up before it appeared, because of the author's previously declared attitude to their country, and thus no adverse comment on Scotland, however shrewd and perceptive, had any chance of being accepted as fair criticism, but had

to be howled down as splenetic and vindictive. They did not read with sufficient care the famous passages about the lack of trees and the decay of St. Andrews, and were too quick to accuse him of making generalisations about the whole country when he was describing limited areas. "National vanity seized upon Johnson's remarks on the nakedness of the road between Berwick and St. Andrews, and abused him for saying what he had not said - that Scotland had no trees."[1] If we turn back to the supposedly offending passage, it will be found, not that Johnson says there were no trees, but that such trees as he saw were very young, planted within the eighteenth century.[2] It is interesting, also, to turn to Boswell's defence of his travelling-companion on this point:-

> But let it be considered that when Dr. Johnson talks of trees, he means trees of good size,...and of these there are certainly very few upon the eastern coast of Scotland. Besides, he said that he meant to give only a map of the road, and let any traveller observe how many trees which deserve the name he can see from the road from Berwick to Aberdeen. Had Dr. Johnson said, "There are no trees" upon this line, he would have said what is colloquially true, because by "no

1 R.W. Chapman, Portrait of a Scholar and other Essays, p.135.
2 Pp.15-16 in the 1775 edition of the Journey.

trees" in common speech we mean "few." When he is particular in counting, he may be attacked.[1]

No-one in the eighteenth century could be expected to have sufficient knowledge about Macpherson's Ossian to enable him to come to a judgment of much value about the authenticity of the poems.[2] The Weekly Magazine correspondents, therefore, did not disgrace themselves, but at the same time won no honour, by upholding the literary merit and venerability of Macpherson's productions. In the absence of such evidence as is now available, Johnson's own suspicions, those of a man who knew no Gaelic, demonstrate great shrewdness and sturdy common sense.

In short, then, the Weekly Magazine critics viewed Johnson with as much prejudice as ever he was accused of possessing himself. They did not understand his character: taking him much too seriously, they did not perceive the crusty humour behind many of his anti-Scottish remarks, which were sometimes provoked by expressions of narrow-minded national superiority encountered during his tour. The

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1 Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, ed. Pottle and Bennett, pp.46-47.
2 G.M. Fraser: "The Truth about Macpherson's 'Ossian'", Quarterly Review 245 (1925), 531-545.

interest and charm of the Journey was lost on them. The visit and its written record did not have for them the fascination it had for Boswell, that of placing a learned philosopher in a strange primitive environment of which he was, to begin with, a little suspicious, and then watching how he would react. In their defence, of course, it could be argued that, as well as being perhaps more insular in outlook than Boswell, they were also too actively involved to be impartial: that supposedly primitive environment was their native land, their only home.

CHAPTER VI THE NATIONALISTIC COMPLEX

The Weekly Magazine's attitude to Dr. Johnson, described in Chapter V, may be considered as a particular manifestation of the peculiarly contradictory sentiments about their country common among Scotsmen of the eighteenth century. On the one hand they were ashamed of their dialect speech; on the other they flew to the defence of their national identity when it was attacked by people like Johnson and Wilkes. This phenomenon has already been commented on by others,[1] and it falls within the present chapter merely to continue the description of the subject so far as it figures in the pages of the Weekly Magazine.

The problem of language may be considered first. Under this general term three separate factors must

1 E.g. D. Daiches, The Paradox of Scottish Culture; D. Craig, Scottish Literature and the Scottish People 1680-1830. The problem is, however, complex, and deserves further study.

be distinguished, although they might often occur in conjunction: mispronunciation of English words, misuse of English words, and the use of purely dialect expressions. The Weekly did not lack contributors who wished to discard their linguistic inheritance; this point of view was expressed with some eloquence by 'The Writer' from Avoch, in the number for 30th November 1775 (XXX,294-295):-

> There is scarcely any language, ancient or modern, that excels the English. In its form and construction it is as simple as the Hebrew; in variety of expression as copious as the Greek; in force and energy as nervous as the Latin. In no quality does it yield to the French, which is presently the most universal language in Europe, except in effeminate softness. It has been so much cultivated during this and the preceding century, that it hardly admits of any further refinement...But notwithstanding the state of perfection to which the English language has lately attained, its progress in Scotland is not so rapid as might be expected. The common people have still a barbarous stile of conversation, and even the better sort mix their discourse with innumerable Scotticisms. And as to literary composition, few men of ordinary education in this part of the island are capable of writing a letter which would bear a critical examination... It gives me great pleasure to hear that the magistrates of Inverness, where the English is spoken with as great propriety as in any place of Scotland, or perhaps of England, have lately considered the importance of this subject, and have established a school for the purpose of teaching English after the newest and best method...Nothing can have a more powerful tendency to eradicate provincial dialects, and to introduce uniformity of speech,

than the erection of proper seminaries. Were these more numerous and under better regulations, the English language, assisted by its own intrinsic excellence, would soon supersede the Gaelic and the Scots; and if the use of the English language was more extensive, it would certainly contribute to the advantage of this kingdom, and strongly cement the union between the two nations. The most distant parts of Britain would then be mutually intelligible to each other, social intercourse would take place, and the inhabitants of the highlands would drop their prepossessions and prejudices.

He is plainly enthusiastic about the versatility of English as an instrument of expression, and his argument appears to adopt the premise that because English is so good, Scots (and Gaelic) must therefore be in all respects inferior. Obviously he is not so much concerned about ease of communication throughout Scotland itself as ease of communication with England. One almost detects in his words the fear that, by talking in the vernacular, Scots might become a laughing-stock to the English. Whatever happens to be associated with the common people must, in his view, be despised. As the Scottish National Dictionary amply demonstrates on every page, the language of a people is inseparably bound up with their whole life, their folk-lore, their social history, their most heart-felt emotions.

These considerations, however, carry no weight with 'The Writer'; 'English' and 'education' may have been associated in his mind, but possibly also his aims were utilitarian - that the Scots should become as much like the English as possible so as to share in English prosperity. A similar motive, to make his countrymen speak better English, and not just a personal interest in problems of language, may underlie the many articles contributed by 'Scoto-Britannus', in which he discussed specific points of usage. Thus in Volume XLII characteristically Scottish lapses in expression are censured e.g. illogical use of double negatives, incorrect substitution of 'learn' for 'teach' with an indirect object, and 'mind' for 'remember', the use of 'some' as an adverb of degree. Since so many examples are provided for inspection, one can see what he was doing, and extend to him the approbation which 'The Writer's' generalisations might not merit. 'Scoto-Britannus' was fighting against expressions that reveal slovenly or illogical thinking, not against dialect and regional pronunciation:-

"The reader will please to observe, that I take no

notice here of any kind of provincial pronounciation, not only because it must be considered merely as an accidental ornament or defect, and not an essential part of language; but also because it is wholly beyond the power of anything else than example and habit to correct it. Neither do I think particular provincial words, if the meaning of these is precisely understood and properly applied, any material defect. The thing which I think most reprehensible, is an indifferent and inaccurate application of any term, or the using a standard word in a manner different from what it ought to be.

(XIII,4)

Two correspondents, one from Shetland, one from Aberdeen, became sufficiently interested in the problem of dialect to describe in some detail the regional variations found within Scotland itself (XVIII,101-102; XIX,40-41). Their observations reveal something of the psychological effects of using dialect speech, an effect possibly augmented, in the case of Scotland, by the narrow-minded parochialism of the common people. As the Shetland correspondent put it:-

It is matter of much surprise, that among all ranks of people, even those of good education, a rooted prejudice in favours of the particular dialect of their own country, and even parish, exists to a degree that blinds them to the grossest absurdities in their own, and makes them condemn that of all dissenters as ridiculous and improper. This prejudice has several inconvenient tendencies; it lessens a stranger in our opinion merely on account of his accent...let his behaviour be ever so

unexceptionable and his parts considerable, when his pronunciation agrees not with ours (as faulty perhaps), instead of attending to his sentiment, we ill-mannerdly sneer at the uncouthness of his sounds.

Both came to the conclusion that English must be adopted, but not quite for the same reasons as 'The Writer' had put forward. They were worried not about the psychological barrier that dialect might erect between England and Scotland, but by the possibility of such barriers existing between one district of Scotland and another. Some sort of neutral lingua franca was therefore necessary; even if not completely acceptable, English could not be sneered at as inferior. Others were, however, more pessimistic (and perhaps more realistic) about the possibility of Scots learning to speak English - "...such persons as have been long accustomed to pronounce the Scottish dialect will find great difficulty ever to acquire the English language so perfectly as to be properly qualified for becoming teachers" (XV,10). Attempts to influence the young did not hold out much hope of success, because the good work would be undone as

soon as the pupil went out into the street, where a superior manner of speech invited only mockery from other boys (XIV,196).

And, on the other hand, one must mention the sentiments of those who wrote to defend their native language. James Anderson's spirited words delivered in defiance of Dr. Johnson have already been quoted (p.79). Without stopping to mention examples, he suggested that many Scotticisms had no adequate equivalents in English. 'Scoto-Britannus' took up this theme (XXI,357-359) and attempted to demonstrate that certain Scots words could not be replaced in English without using a clumsy circumlocution. His examples, however, do little to strengthen his argument, since they are not very well chosen: thir (plural of "this"), mae ("more", of objects that can be numbered), scale ("to empty", of contents that can be numbered). What, it might be asked, is the objection to "these" which is, in any case, more easily pronounced than thir? Likewise, the other two can hardly be regarded as indispensable units of communication: the context

usually makes it plain whether number or amount is signified. Rather more sentimentally, regret for the passing away of the Scots tongue was expressed in verse by Charles Keith (XXXIX,112),[1] who blamed Fashion as the cause, and consoled himself with the thought that the vernacular could still be heard in Aberdeen.

Ruddiman's own views on the language problem are hard to determine. Certainly he published many pieces of Scottish verse, to the benefit of his country's literature. But could he be expected to condone Scotticisms in a prose article that aspired to English standards of correctness, in view of his declared intention to revise pieces that showed stylistic blemishes? Provincial expressions are hardly acceptable in the best English prose, unless they are technical or semi-technical words with no convenient equivalent. On the other hand something written for a provincial audience might include dialect words for the sake of their emotive appeal. Accordingly it is rather odd to find occasional Scotticisms creeping into articles with some

1 Published anonymously. Identified by McDiarmid, op. cit., I,175.

literary pretensions, e.g. the word 'coldrife' in a personal account by a young lady from Edinburgh, complaining that she was jilted by a student who lodged with her family. The context is quoted here to show how odd the word looks in its setting, where the simple story of disappointed love is dressed up in the language of romance:-

...at length my long looked for Strephon arrived in town; but oh! Mr Printer, he did not, as I expected, fly on the wings of love, to ease my anxious heart, and load me with his endearing caresses; for the sun had finished one diurnal course, and had gained the meridian of another, before he made his appearance; but, what was more distressing to me, was that coldrife manner with which he addressed me...His usual ardour was changed into coldness. (XVI,175)

Or again, in another place, it is a little surprising to read, "The story of Provost Crichton of Sanquhar, was also a most nottour story in that town." (XVI,74). We may wonder whether the editor's eye had overlooked these words. But one is certainly glad to see the epithet "half-merk" applied to runaway marriages (VII,101-103), since so much of Scottish custom is embedded in the phrase; and in an article on sheep-breeding addressed to farmers in Scotland, nothing would have been gained and

something lost if the editor had replaced "bield" with "shelter" (XXXIV,328).

On most other aspects of nationalism, however, the Weekly Magazine presented a united front. Both editor and correspondents strove to maintain the independence of characteristically Scottish institutions, while at a more practical level many articles appeared showing how Scotland's economic position could be improved by the promotion of trade, manufactures and agriculture. Ruddiman's pride is obvious in the following remark made when presenting the week's news on 21st September 1769:-

> It is no less remarkable than true, that Scots officers fill the highest offices in both the armies and navies of almost all the powers in Europe; they are employed by Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, the emperor, the Portuguese, the Republic of Venice etc. (V,382)

Some of his correspondents demonstrated that Scots criminal law was more equitable than English, especially in the matter of juries: the majority verdict accepted in Scotland was considered clearly preferable to the forced show of unanimity demanded in England, (VIII,261-263; XVII,47). The authority

of an English Lord Chamberlain to censor new dramatic productions was resented as a "humbling and unmerited stigma...neither mentioned nor implied in any article of the union." (X,560). Even the Scottish character was examined and found to be worth preserving from pernicious English influence:-

> There is a softness, a delicacy, a respect for virtue and religion, so natural to the character of a well-bred Scotsman, that his behaviour becomes awkward and intolerable, even to rusticity and barbarism, when, seduced by false shame, or pretended courage, he attempts to violate them. We are no more qualified to follow the English in the freedom of their manners, than in the profusion of their expenses. (X, 509)

There were those who still openly regretted the union with England (e.g. XIII,81), and one correspondent attempted to show with the help of an extract that Scotland did have commerce before 1707, so that accounts of an increase in prosperity were exaggerated (XXXII, 138-140). In Volume XLVII there even appears an imaginary 'Journal of Affairs in Scotland for 1850' describing how the Scots eventually won their freedom from England by means of a military campaign fought out in the Lowlands against an invading Southern army(pp.72-77).

But the correspondent who did most for his country through the medium of the Weekly Magazine was not one to long for the past. This was David Loch, a man whose importance in eighteenth-century Scottish economic history has probably been underestimated.[1] His doctrine was simple - self-help - and his method equally simple - to say the same thing over and over again until his countrymen took his advice. Thirty-eight pieces from his pen, most of them originals, appeared in the Weekly, and the Magazine's proprietors were later responsible for publishing his collected papers.[2] This man's tremendous energy and earnestness come across very well in passages such as the following:-

> My reputation as a merchant is well known. My thoughts as to the linen and woolen trade are not of yesterday. I was for several years a member of the Royal Burghs in their annual convention. I always spoke my mind as to the trade that I was satisfied was for the benefit of this country, which I was convinced was the woolen. I have heard many Don Quixote schemes at those meetings about the linen staple. I am very sorry that what I foretold concerning it has come to pass. (XLIII,158)

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1 His name is mentioned only in the bibliography of the standard work, H. Hamilton, An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century.

2 David Loch, Essays on the Trade, Commerce, Manufactures and Fisheries of Scotland, 3 vols. Printed by Walter and Thomas Ruddiman (Edin. 1778-1779).

Clearly not concerned to cultivate the niceties of periodical essay-writing, he likewise eschewed the use of literary pseudonyms. He signed every article boldly with his own name, and refused to answer any correspondent who did not do likewise (XXXI,398)

Although his occupation was that of a merchant in Leith, articles showing detailed knowledge came from his pen on such subjects as wool production, herring fisheries, agriculture and inland navigation. The advice he offered in a period of economic depression round about 1775 was that Scotsmen could help their country by buying and using native products, for example wearing garments of wool and linen, even if such things appeared less fashionable than those made of imported materials. The support of influential bodies of people was enlisted, including the General Assembly, the nobility and gentry, the Convention of Royal Burghs ("all we have left of a Parliament"), until it became a point of patriotic honour to appear dressed in clothes of Scottish manufacture (XXXIII,112).

Early in 1776 the House of Commons rejected a

Scots Militia Bill. Their action was considered an insult to Scotland, and expressions of unbridled nationalism appeared in the Weekly; it was even proposed that the Union should be dissolved (XXXII, 32). At this juncture Loch harnessed national feeling to further his schemes, pleading that his countrymen should express their resentment not by violence or political action, but by economic endeavour. "Let our flocks of fine wooled sheep be our militia," he wrote (XXXII,47). In sheep-farming he exposed as wasteful and unnecessary the strange practice of tarring the fleece to prevent it from becoming verminous and protect the sheep from winter cold - the difficulties of scouring such wool can scarcely be imagined (XXXII,304; XXXVII,18). Writing on fisheries, he gave warm support to the idea of exporting salted herring from Scotland to European centres, and on inland navigation he proposed the construction of waterways where the Crinan and Caledonian Canals now run (XXXV,239-240). Grateful appreciation of his efforts was expressed by many other correspondents

in the Magazine, and in a more official form by his appointment in 1776 as Inspector-General of woollen manufactures in Scotland under the Trustees for Fisheries, Manufactures and Improvements, a position that enabled him to pursue his tours of investigation all round Scotland with greater authority. To keep the balance, however, it is worth recording that at least one reader objected to having the Weekly flooded with patriotic articles written in such an excessively earnest tone:-

> Some address you on purpose to exhibit their political abilities, while others amaze you with extensive learning; another set bawl out for the good of their country, and continually hollow in your ears, Loch, Herring and Wool. (XLIII,110)

Another writer on nationalist subjects who has not hitherto been recognised as a Weekly Magazine contributor was the Earl of Buchan. Several of his letters and speeches were reprinted with his own name attached, but his one authenticated original contribution appeared over the pseudonym 'Britannicus,' and identification is due to the editor (25th January 1781, LI,79-80). Beginning with the words "Men of England, Scotland, Ireland, the Colonies, Brethren

and Fellow Citizens," it represents the last phase of patriotic sentiment in the Weekly Magazine. Under the threat of war with the European maritime powers, the Scots thought of themselves first of all as Britons, and became less conscious of the differences between themselves and the English. This address of the Earl reveals the same characteristic tone as is found in his reprinted pieces: use of rhetoric, allusiveness, a somewhat haughty aloofness and conscious superiority, coupled with smouldering resentment at not having been appointed to a post of political importance. Most of these things are represented in the peroration:-

> Think not, my brethren, that this address is the emanation of zeal brought about by the largesses of a selfish minister. It comes from a man whose rank is too illustrious, his fortune, by prudence, too independent, and his heart, by nature, too honest to permit him to be the tool ofparty or of power.
>
> He seeks not for public office, he receives no emoluments from Government, he has been suffered to languish in obscurity, if his spirit would have suffered him to languish. He had once the hopes and ambition of guiding, with the state pilot, the helm of public affairs; that time is past. It is past never to return. He will go to the silent grave, in all probability, unplaced, unpensioned, unribboned, unpromoted in honour. But he will be carried to it, he hopes, with honour, with the

regret of an honest circle, and certainly with the reputation of having loved his country.

Few contributors were hardy enough to assert that the Scots excelled other nations in the arts. One correspondent, indeed, ranked Thomson with Virgil (IX,261-263), but the claim is too exaggerated to be taken very seriously. An essay on music in Volume IX (pp.273-274) places Scottish, Irish and Welsh compositions above the Italian, and even attempts to distinguish between the airs of northern and southern Scotland. "The northern is generally martial, for the most part melancholy...the southern is pastoral and amorous..." But this choice is to be understood with reference to the aesthetic theory assumed in the essay. The purpose of art, we are told, is to imitate the passions. Thus a 'history' painting is more worthy than a Dutch interior, and the music of the Celts, because it has pathos, is more desirable than contemporary Italian compositions which are merely harmonious sound.

There exists, however, a reprint, which, in the circumstances, is possibly more valuable than

an original could be (XX,144-145). The author, calling himself 'Hermes', is, from internal evidence, an Englishman. He reproves his countrymen for making fun of the Scots on account of their speech; there is little need for that, he maintains, since the English cannot even speak their own language and Scotland has eclipsed England in culture:-

> The astonishing increase of luxury and dissipation, for some years past, has not only banished education and learning from this city, but sent genius and taste a begging to the barren hills of Scotland. What a shame is it for England...to be eclipsed in almost every branch of literature, by men who formerly were remarkable for nothing but war and ferocity! To see a Home and a Robertson unequalled in history, a Wedderburn unrivalled in oratory, a Mansfield in law; the city of Edinburgh resorted to from every corner of his majesty's dominions as the seat of taste and learning...And these are the men you ridicule, my friends; these are the people you endeavour to laugh to scorn for their ignorance of your language.

In retrospect, it is possible to detect that national feeling was highest in the earlier part of the Weekly Magazine era, largely fanned into flame by the attacks of Wilkes and Johnson. From about 1778 it was submerged in more broadly British sentiment under the pressure of foreign danger, sentiment that found expression in a crop of crudely

jingoistic songs, anti-French, anti-Spanish, even anti-American. The proportion of irresponsible and inflammatory articles is, however, small, and patriotism found a more worthy outlet in the schemes of men like Loch. Even during the earlier period of wounded feelings, the Scots asserted they were not the rebels or Jacobites that Wilkes would have them, but loyal subjects of the British king, and longed for the day when ill-founded English prejudices against them would disappear.

CHAPTER VII LITERATURE IN 'THE WEEKLY MAGAZINE'

Although Ruddiman did not think of his Weekly Magazine as primarily a literary journal, its contribution to literature is not inconsiderable, at least as far as poetry is concerned. To begin, however, with prose, one can, for example, trace in the Magazine the evolution of the review as a literary form, and notice the reactions of the Scottish reading public to its introduction. Much of its evolution must, of course, be traced at second hand, as most of the reviews were reprints from English periodicals. Ruddiman's earlier Edinburgh Magazine of 1757-1762 carried a section called 'New Books', where they were simply listed by title, but by its third volume the name of the section had been expanded to 'New Books with Remarks and Extracts.' From its inception the Weekly Magazine had a regular 'Review' section, but for a long time the contents

were nothing more than extracts and summaries. It might be argued that such material served the most elementary purpose of a review, which is to provide such an impression of a book as can be obtained without actually reading it, but the practice required an extravagant amount of space in proportion to the number of books 'reviewed.' Something like genuine reviewing appeared with Volume XVII (1772), when the publication of Adam's Latin Grammar invited comparison with that of Ruddiman the grammarian, and at the same time allowed the Scots to indulge in their favourite pastime of disputation. Up till that time, it would appear that to review a book, if anything more than summarising were involved, meant to give it approval. The sudden application of the methods of controversy to the problem of choosing between two Latin grammars inevitably produced destructive criticism, which struck at least one reader as ungentlemanly. The protest of an Edinburgh subscriber, 'Benevolus', seems naive today, since it would preclude all reviewing in the modern sense, but at the same time sounds a warning of what

might happen if the reviewer were an irresponsible person. After calling literary critics a "species of insect gnaw-worm" he went on:-

> In this way, may not people be naturally led, unawares, to conceive strong prejudices against a book that they have never read, even of the highest merit, and against some character of the first eminence, with which they are unacquainted; and all this to satiate the hateful spleen of some invidious wretch, whose concealment is the only thing to screen him from public detestation. (XVII,112)

Reviewing that was both genuine and original appeared briefly during 1772 and 1773 in appreciations of poems by two Edinburgh poets - Thomas Mercer's Sentimental Sailor (based on the Nouvelle Heloise) and Fergusson's To the Memory of John Cunningham (XVIII,147; XXII,119). The first reviewer claimed to be impartial, observing faults as well as merits, yet his references to faults appear almost apologetic. Some of the expressions of praise in this review reveal the fashionable contemporary cult of 'sentimental' literature, from which the Weekly itself could not escape:-

> The ingenious author of the SENTIMENTAL SAILOR could not have hit upon a subject which would have afforded a greater scope for a truly poetical imagination, than what he has happily chosen. The situation of the unfortunate St Preux, torn from his Eloisa... is

fertile with such ideas as fill the mind with the true pathetic, and supply the Elegiac Muse with the most affecting images.

That the Scottish reading public were by no means yet accustomed to the idea of a critical review is demonstrated by the appearance of an article, 'Some Strictures on Reviewers', in 1775 (XXVIII,11-12 and 193-196), contributed by 'Free-speech' from Carnwath. He was disturbed, not by anything he had seen in the Weekly Magazine itself, but by the methods of those responsible for the Edinburgh Magazine and Review that had sprung up in 1773, especially their supposed hostility to clerical authors. Apparent hypersensitivity of the Scots to adverse literary criticism is suggested by the set of rules which he proceeded to lay down for reviewers, with the general intention that the practice should be conducted in as courteous and gentlemanly a fashion as possible:-

1. A Review periodical should be produced, not by one man, but by a group, each specialising in his own field of knowledge.
2. A reviewer's integrity should be such that the

public can respect him.

3. A reviewer should not carp at trivial errors in a book.

4. A reviewer should be impartial.

5. A reviewer should not be ironical. "Men are not easily laughed out of their errors, nor laughed into good sense, for all the boast of the stage, or buffoonery of a critic."

6. A reviewer should incline to leniency.

7. If a reviewer has personal views on a controversy that is treated in a book, he should be fair to those on the opposite side.

8. A reviewer should be consistent.

9. A reviewer should be modest.

10. A reviewer should be good-natured and polite - "a sensible critic will give strong proof that it is reluctant to his nature to dispraise an author, or depreciate his work."

The validity of the view quoted in the fifth rule might be questioned, since it conflicts with the theory of English satire. What could have been said is that a reviewer is in the solemn position of a

judge, and the weapons of a satirist are not open to him. The rules are on the whole admirable, although one may object that they leave the reviewer without much power to censure a book that is thoroughly bad or pernicious. The significant feature is that it was thought necessary to set down these rules at all.

It is only fair to point out that the Weekly also presents the other side of the coin, a vindication of the reviewer's right to criticise, presented by one who took a leading part in the Latin Grammar controversy. His words could be taken as a reasonable retort to 'Benevolus', and possibly also to 'Freespeech':-

> Shall criticism be exploded, because it may have been abused? The utility of it is apparent, in so far as it is a check upon bad writers, and tends to sharpen the wits of men. (XVII,148)

Genuine reviews in the modern sense began to appear regularly from Volume XXXVII onwards, at the same time as the news section disappeared under the threat of legal penalties. There must have been more than coincidence in this. True, the size of each number was reduced at that time by 8 pages,

from 32 to 24. But the discarded news section had occupied, on average, 12 to 14 pages, not just 8, so that the editor had somehow to augment the departments that remained. In fact, examination shows the review section expanded from about 5 pages to an average of 6-8. Also, from this time onwards one notices the occurrence of one or other of a select range of initials at the end of each review article, as if Ruddiman was now employing a staff of specialist reviewers. But, alas! that is not so. Inspection of the note regularly prefacing the review section in the rival Scots Magazine makes what was going on quite plain:-

> We sometimes shew from what works we take these remarks by annexing M. for Monthly Review; C. for Critical Review; G. for Gentleman's and L. for London Magazines &c.

The Weekly Magazine was simply robbing English publications wholesale, and limited acknowledgment of the practice is made in the first number of Volume LVII, where one of the review articles had the letter 'E' printed after it:-

E*

*.....

* Implies English Review; a work of considerable

merit, which began to be published in January last, and is said to be under the direction of Dr Gilbert Stuart, a gentleman well known in the literary world.

In the second half of the Magazine's era, the only attempt at sustained literary criticism worth recalling is not a review of a newly-issued book, but 'Critical Remarks on Robin Gray, a Scots Ballad' by 'Juvenis' from Ayrshire (XLI,251-253, 275-277). At times the writer shows signs of original thought:-

> ...in a word, every thing from beginning to end breathes the native spirit of tenderness, and we are surprised how, in so small a piece, there can be unfolded so much of the human heart. (p. 252)

The rest of the appreciation, however, tends to sink to the level of a commentary that states the obvious, until one feels the poem should simply be allowed to speak for itself, if the critic could not do any better.

If, in turn, the essay department of the Magazine is inspected, some of the types familiar from earlier eighteenth-century periodicals will be recognised - the Dream Vision, the Character, the Moral Tale where after two or three paragraphs of introductory moralising the author launches out into a particular application, e.g. the short original composition entitled

'On Dissimulation and Deceit' in Volume XXVII, where after thirty lines of generalisation on the subject, the author continues, "Florio and Philander were early acquaintances..." (p. 393). In the later years of the Magazine these types began to disappear, perhaps because their rather stilted artificiality made them less popular; nothing of a specifically literary cast succeeded them, however, and only articles of a practical, scientific or speculative nature remained. Three essays from the Magazine's earlier years deserve, nevertheless, to be singled out, since they are in the best Spectator tradition of social satire (XV,270-272, 393-395; XVI,109-112). All are on the subject of "puppies" i.e. Edinburgh fops. The first two, both by 'Philophysis', describe the dress, behaviour and, by quotation, the speech of these effeminate dandies. The third, and by far the best, written by 'X.Y.Z.' from Nicholson Street in Edinburgh, demolishes them completely by satirical methods. 'X.Y.Z.' pretends he is writing to defend the "puppies" from the previous attacks of 'Philophysis', and protests that none need take offence

at them since they are completely harmless. From the idea of harmlessness it is but a short step to suggest witlessness, "the chief, if not the only purpose of these flirtations is to show the teeth of the parties concerned," and thence to impotence, "A husband or a lover would as soon be jealous of a lap-dog, a squirrel, or a parrot." Going back to the ancient Greek belief that nature does nothing in vain, that every object has its function, the essayist, with great play of ingenuity, brings forth two answers to the problem of what useful purpose is served by a "puppy":-

> First, they are absolutely necessary to the support of taylors and barbers...But the chief end of a puppy's existence is to please, to flatter, to serve, and to attend the ladies...He will fetch and carry a dull joke, a play-bill, or a pinch of snuff, from one part of the theatre to another. When the ladies are retiring from the play-house or concert, who is so ready to offer his paw, and squeak for a chair as a well powdered puppy?

Slowly, subtly, and all the time with undiminished mock-gallantry, the essayist works his way round until the ladies themselves are ironically condemned; but for their patronage the whole race of "puppies" would never survive:-

But their chief use is to flirt with the ladies in the time of a play or concert...It is incredible how unhappy the fair inhabitants of the boxes are without the company of a puppy, and how relieved, how transported they are when a puppy approaches ...No lady can now enjoy the delicious pleasure arising from the consciousness of the superior elegance of her own dress, nor amuse herself, or entertain her companions with remarks on the dresses of others. They have no object, no employment that can afford any amusement to their gentle minds. For it must be observed, that it is as unpolite to attend to what is doing on the stage as to listen to what is said in church...Though ten ladies will listen to one puppy, yet each of the ten has an inclination to speak herself, and if there were no puppies would certainly indulge that inclination.

It is instructive to notice that in the second of the three essays mentioned above, one of the "puppies" is represented as mocking at 'sensibility'. The conflict is almost symbolic of what was happening in eighteenth-century literature. The fop might be a target for satire, yet as man-about-town he was very much an inhabitant of the neo-classical, Augustan world which gave way in the course of the century before the inroads of sentimentalism, and the associated movements towards Nature and romanticism. In the Weekly the sentimental did not figure largely as a basis for essay-type set pieces, but came into its own with English poetry, with

translations, genuine and pretended, and even with personal confessions. In the case of the latter, it is amusing to observe how the writers, often seeking advice or sympathy for their love problems, tended to fall into the style of the sentimental novels and dramas and to identify themselves with the stock characters of such works - the betrayed innocent girl, the 'conscious' lovers, the reclaimed prodigal.[1] An example is 'The affecting History of Arabella' (11th July 1771, XIII,43-47), where even commonplace incidents are embellished with the language of the prevailing mode: "The very methods we pursued to soften, only augmented the evil; his sensibility, his too lively sensibility, proved the bane of his constitution." This cult could be condemned as a form of affectation, but if the hypothesis that the study of literature influences people's conduct is accepted, one might surmise that such attitudes in writing possibly turned the readers' minds towards humanitarianism.

On 19th May 1774 the Magazine carried an

1 See H.W.Thompson, A Scottish Man of Feeling, especially Chapter IV.

interesting letter by a Glaswegian signing himself 'A Lover of Poetry' (XXIV,238-240). Although only groping blindly towards the truth, he was aware that somehow literature had reached a cross-roads in the course of the eighteenth century. Poetry, he stated, was on the decline - perhaps implying that the neo-classic tradition had worn itself out. The remedy he advised was a return to simplicity, and, even more important, fidelity to nature: the aspiring poet was urged to study natural history and natural philosophy.

The Weekly played some part in this return to nature by publishing translations that really stand on the border-line between prose and poetry, translations which awakened an interest in German literature and possibly also in Gaelic literature. First of the Gaelic pieces to appear was an Elegy on a lady, in the number for 2nd May 1771 (XII,148). A prose translation is appended (dated Inverary, 19th April 1771), from which it might be judged that the original does not go much beyond the conventional sentiments of contemporary English poetry. The same

might be considered true of 'The Ancient Chief, from the Gaelic of Callum Roy, composed in the time of the late Emigration' (15th February 1776, XXXI, 242-243), but here the original is not supplied, and as the translator is honest enough to admit in an introductory note, much has probably been lost in the process of rendering it into heroic couplets. His purpose in submitting it for publication, incidentally, was to show that the composition of Gaelic poetry had not died out in the Highlands after 1772. Fortunately no attempt at verse translation was made with the Gaelic song included in the Review department on 1st April 1778 (XL,17-18). The sender, 'Tearloch' of Insegall, quite sensibly contented himself with a summary of the whole, and a prose translation of three out of its twelve stanzas. What might be interpreted as a rather extraordinary attempt to assimilate Highland and Lowland cultures is the song in the Poetry section for 23rd December 1778 (XLII,303), an amatory piece written in English, except for part of its two-line refrain:

Oh gradh mo chroidh mo Challin og,
My charming BETTA ROSE.

The Gaelic line ("Oh! the love of my heart is my young maiden") is, in fact, the title of the tune to which the verses are intended to be sung. The last piece of Gaelic in the Magazine was also in the Poetry department, Oran do Mhajair JOIN CAIMBEUL Mhelart, Gobhairneir Ardnansaor. Fonn, Killicrankie, with the signature A.M'D. (4th August 1779, XLV, 133-134). As no translation was provided, the editor invited his correspondents to supply one, but none was ever published. Ruddiman's acknowledgment of having received the piece is instructive: "The Gaelic poem shall be submitted to proper judges." (Notes to Correspondents, XLV, 96).

Probably of greater significance was the Weekly Magazine's contribution to the knowledge of German literature in this country. H.W.Thompson claims it was the Scots who discovered German literature for Britain,[1] and D.W.M.Lindsay has recorded that one of the earliest propagandists of German literature in Scotland was the Weekly Magazine correspondent 'Germanicus', who contributed translations over a

1 Op. cit., p.281.

period of several years and was probably the author of both the articles on the subject that were published during the year 1771.[1] The second of the two articles, actually bearing his signature, is a well-written essay on the phenomenon of genius and its relation to civilisation (22nd August 1771, XIII, 234-237). More lucidly and perceptively than 'A Lover of Poetry' had done, he accounted for the stagnation of English literature by the theory that as civilisation advances, the arts decline: criticism, excessively refined, had come to prize form above inspiration, so that originality was stifled. A new set of critical principles, or perhaps fewer of them, would have to be adopted before genius could revive in Britain. Germany, he considered, was producing superior poets at that time because it was less civilised than the rest of Europe. The other article of 1771, 'Reflections on Rural Poetry' (1st August, XIII,134-136), is unsigned, but advances a similar point of view more briefly. Gessner, Bodmer, Breitinger, Kleist and Wieland are specifically

1 German Literature in Scotland 1750-1813, p.15.

approved, and the article ends with two pieces of 'poetic' prose in praise of May, avowedly in the German pastoral manner. It is to be noted, however, that this article does not bear the prefix 'To the Publisher of the Weekly Magazine', sole guarantee of originality, and internal evidence suggests it was meant to be read in May, although Ruddiman published it in August.[1] Lindsay has ignored an earlier article addressed to the Publisher, deploring British ignorance of German poetry and enclosing a translation from Gessner's Idylls (6th December 1770, X,299-300). This, although anonymous, is almost certainly by 'Germanicus'. In his essay of 22nd August 1771, already mentioned, he writes:-

> I formerly sent you a few translations from Gesner, in hopes that some more able hand would have favoured the public with some more perfect translations from him, and other German poets...but as no one has chosen to perform that task, I shall soon send you a few pieces taken from other poets of that nation. (p.236)

One other Gessner translation is missing from the exhaustive list of pieces from the German provided by Lindsay - 'The Old Man' (XXII, 109-110). It is

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1 A somewhat altered version of this article appears in Vol. XX,359-360, without a prefix, over the signature 'Musidore' - plagiarised?

to be observed that this poet figures not only in translations but also in imitations (XXXIV,198; XXXVI,169). In the circumstances, attempts to imitate translations of a foreign author might suggest not only that the author himself was popular but also that the translations conformed to a current fashion. Of all the German authors represented in the Magazine, Gellert and Gessner are those most often mentioned, especially the latter. It may be wondered why such a second-rate poet was so popular in this country. The answer probably is that his work satisfied the appetites of the age. Undoubtedly the movements towards Nature, Sensibility and the 'Gothic', though separate, were closely associated.[1] Gessner's work had an artificial sentimentality, and, as Lindsay points out,[2] it appealed because of the poetical prose in which it was translated. The extraordinary manner of expression established by Macpherson, with its short sentences, frequent parallelism, use of invocation and apostrophe, coupled with a certain vagueness, a

1 J.S.Smart, James Macpherson, Chapter I.
2 Op. cit., p.14.

pervading sense of solitude and melancholy amid nature had become the accepted norm for 'Gothic' tales, to judge from imitations found in the Weekly itself, and some of these characteristics are undeniably present in the Gossner translations.

CHAPTER VIII LITERATURE (continued)

As already noted in a previous chapter (see pp. 40-41) the English verse in Ruddiman's miscellany is disappointingly mediocre, but in this the journal simply suffered from the same weakness as most other eighteenth-century periodicals. The chief fault is that its poetry is so derivative. Apart from satirical pieces and epigrams, most of the poems can be classed as pastoral or elegiac, and the prevailing trend towards sentimentalism and gentle melancholy, noticed in the prose, can be traced here also. All the apparatus of pastoral, even if it once had value, can be described only as sickeningly artificial when repeated for the hundredth time without any innovation, and incongruously applied to Scottish landscapes and Scottish situations. The pastoral vein had a long ancestry, but the elegiac can be so often traced back to a

single source that one may without hesitation describe that source, Gray's Elegy, as the most influential single poem of the later eighteenth century. Sometimes the influence of Gray extended only to metre, to sentiments and verbal echoes, but in other places whole phrases were lifted in an imitation too close to be called anything but theft. But at least to imitate Gray was to indulge in a more manly cast of melancholy than was cultivated elsewhere.

A somewhat diverting attempt by some of these minor versifiers to criticise each other occurred in the course of Volume XXXVII (1777), from which one may see what the basic literary standards were that they strove to maintain. In a Critical Review of Correspondents 'Lycidas' censured certain other writers in the Magazine, mostly for lack of 'correctness'. He was especially hard on the poets:-

> D-C- was insufferably tedious in his elegy: In what elegant writer did he meet with the word "somnolence?" In his verses at Luss, he has not said one word concerning the Lake, but in the title; and yet he proposes to instruct strangers in the scenery of the place...In the same verses, the words "to the sight," in the line, "and nought but mountains to the sight appear," are flat and redundant. Your Strathearn Poet is no less prosaic. Observe, among many other lines of the same kind, the expletive in

the first of the three following, the harsh inadmissible apostrophes in the second, and the disgusting minuteness of detail in the third:
Where first on me the fost'ring light did shine.
No potentate on earth's so happy's they.
Where heaps of loam, or lime, or both, abound. (p.184)

After all this, 'Lycidas' had the temerity to submit a poem of his own. It is true that he good-naturedly invited others to criticise him, so that those he had attacked might answer back. But, all the same, he was by implication presenting his own work as a model, since he would hardly commit the faults deliberately that he had condemned in others. Retaliation was not slow in coming (pp.205-206, 229-230, 240, 301-302), and 'Lycidas' was accused of the very faults for which he had censured others, redundancy, dissonance, and also use of provincial expressions or archaisms - "aye serene", "she wons". His victim D-C- declared the following verse unacceptable because of "glaring prose" at the beginning of line 2 (referring, presumably, to the metrical irregularity) and a heavy, languid movement produced by too many verbs:-

You see her, from unfolding blooms,
Shaking the glist'ning dews;

Enamour'd of their soft perfumes,
Charm'd with their vivid hues.

These people obviously prided themselves on metrical strictness. Incidentally, the slightly incongruous use of 'Sternhold and Hopkins' metre in the above specimen is worthy of note. This whole episode of criticism and counter-criticism displays a somewhat excessive preoccupation with minor detail and formal polish.

The chief glory of the Weekly Magazine, preserving it from oblivion, is, of course, the poetry of Fergusson. However, it is outside the bounds of the present study to attempt a full-scale appreciation of his work. The task has already been in some measure undertaken by M.P. McDiarmid in Volume I of the Scottish Text Society's edition of the poems, although he is more concerned with Fergusson's position in literary history than with detailed evaluation of individual poems. Even the relationship between Fergusson's poetry and its Magazine setting, more germane to the present investigation, has already been touched upon, albeit somewhat informally, by J.W. Oliver, who shows that certain of the poems may

have been prompted by passages Fergusson had read in his friend and patron's journal.[1] Instead, it is proposed to seek an answer here to the following question. Why is the Scottish poetry of Fergusson and others in the Weekly Magazine so much better than the English poetry, including the English poetry of Fergusson himself? A possible advantage of pursuing this enquiry may be to rescue the Scottish poetry written by other contributors from neglect, if it so deserves. Undoubtedly it has suffered neglect, completely obscured by the achievement of Fergusson himself.

It so happens that a direct comparison between the Scottish and English poems is possible, because two pieces exist, one in each variety of language, with identical subject-matter. These two are Fergusson's first Scottish poem in the Magazine, 'The Daft-Days' (2nd January 1772, XV,18-19), and 'February', by another Edinburgh poet, identified only as M- (27th February 1772, XV,274-275). As already suggested (pp.71-72), the latter may indeed

1 "Fergusson and Ruddiman's Magazine", in Robert Fergusson 1750-1774 ed. S.G. Smith.

be a deliberate imitation of the former. It has to be conceded, of course, that the comparison is not entirely fair, since alongside an English poem by a minor versifier we are placing a Scottish poem by a major poet. However, because of the similarity of subject, the opportunity is too tempting to let pass. The text of Fergusson's poem is not given here, as it is easily accessible in his collected works. The other piece is reproduced in full, since it is not known to be in print elsewhere.

FEBRUARY.

Yet winter wields his sceptor o'er our land,
Hail, frost and ice his mandate stern obey;
Each being feels the fury of his hand,
And yields reluctant to his potent sway.

Buried in snows the works of nature lye,
The flowing rill's arrested in its course;
Horrific tempests howl along the sky,
The leafless forest groans beneath their force.

See! vapours, clouds, and storms, a dismal train!
Sweep rigidly severe the darken'd air,
Spread rueful desolation o'er the plain,
And all the fields a gloomy aspect wear.

The plaid-wrapt peasant, shivering with cold,
Forbears to turn the stubborn rocky soil;
The sturdy oxen snuff the barren mould,
And loud demand the price of all their toil.

The fleecy charge no longer tread the plain,
Or wind, thick nibbling, round the shrubby hill;
But sympathetic to the swain complain,
And crowd for shelter from the vapours chill.

In iron bonds the flow'ry tribes lye dead,
The lovely parterre charms the eye no more,
Save where the snow-drop rears its pallid head,
That fears nor storm's assault, nor tempest's roar.

Now let the muse attempt to shift the scene,
(For what can please beneath a wint'ry sky?)
Let Fancy bear me to the village-inn,
Where fires and tankards ev'ry storm defy.

There constant votaries of Bacchus' shrine,
Send round the friendly jug with foaming ale;
Wine, punch, Geneva, ev'ry liquor join
To form the rustic feast, the rich regale.

Perhaps some hero from amid the throng,
Whose deep-schem'd head is silver'd o'er with age,
Attempts, when late, the banquet to prolong,
And with some tale the giddy crowd engage.

Thus glide the moments rapidly away,
While brumal blasts the tott'ring cot invest
Till sleep and fumes of drink the talk betray,
And lull their fault'ring tongues to silent rest.

O piercing frost! thy countenance how keen!
Who of frail mortals in thy cold can live?
O when shall spring assume her gentle reign,
And bid dead nature at her touch revive?

Ye hills, ye dales, in pleasing green appear;
Ye woods, your tops wave to the vernal gale,
Ye birds, chaunt forth your notes that charm the ear;
Ye not unprofitable storms farewel!

Edin. Feb. 18 M-

As the theme is not the usual one of love or death,

we are spared much of the pastoral paraphernalia and the presence of ladies such as Delia or Sylvia. In fact, this poet performs quite respectably within the convention. In the first three verses he builds up a strong impression of winter's rigour, every touch contributing to the total effect. He is less successful when he turns to animate nature, but even verse 4, although moving in that direction, does not lapse too much. Trouble starts with the poetic diction of the following verses - "fleecy charge", "flow'ry tribes". Quite apart from the circumlocution involved, such phrases may unfortunately suggest the poet does not have complete sympathy for what he is describing, but instead a somewhat superior and condescending attitude. Subscribers to the Magazine would almost certainly have objected to the juxtaposition, "swain complain", in verse 5, when they might have remained blind to other faults. The village inn is hardly recognisable as any place in Scotland, and the verse beginning "Perhaps some hero.." exhibits an unfortunate patronising air. One can see, of course, where the rhetorical pattern probably came

from - "Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid...", the section of surmise in Gray's Elegy. The entire poem's metrical debt to Gray is fairly obvious. Gray might seem also to be the progenitor of this poet's viewpoint, solemn, detached, somewhat moral, somewhat superior to his subject. One forms the impression that M- says what is fitting; he may please us, but will not surprise us. At any rate the ending does not disgrace him: turning from description to apostrophe and rhetorical question for greater intensity, his last two verses recall the beginning, and achieve a certain grave beauty in the expression of hope for the future.

It is interesting to speculate what might have happened if Fergusson had written 'The Daft-Days' in English. The result might well have been something like the poem just discussed, if we may judge from his English verse of the same period. Apart from the dialect, the main difference to be noticed between 'February' and 'The Daft-Days' is the contrast of attitudes. To write a poem in Scots involves far more than the use of 'provincial' words and phrases.

A Scots poet sees things in an entirely different light from an English one. Fergusson's attitude to the hostile elements is not one of respectful awe: the Scottish mortal gets his own revenge against the weather by being disrespectful; his native vocabulary becomes an effective instrument to let him be so.

In verse 1 of 'The Daft-Days' the trisyllabic word "minimum" (emphasised in the original Weekly Magazine text by italics) should not be regarded as a piece of intrusive English amid the simpler Scots words. Probably lengthened out to "meenimum" in contemporary Scots pronunciation (judging by the analogous pronunciation of minister attested in the Weekly Magazine, XIV,195) it acquires the dignity of a Latin word, turned here to comic effect. No swains appear in the second and third verses, only shepherds, but it might be pointed out disparagingly that with very slight alterations these stanzas could have been written by the 'February' poet. Yet having indicated that his norm is the vernacular, a Scottish poet is quite at liberty to adopt standard English temporarily for special effect. And, in any

case, the emphasis in 'The Daft-Days' is on the winter interior, beginning with verse 4, and not on the winter exterior, as in 'February'. By alternating from English to Scots Fergusson can contrast exterior and interior much more strongly than an English poet could. A more objectionable example of conventional moralising could be cited in Fergusson's penultimate verse, with not a Scots word present, but taken in the context this looks like a deliberate attempt to represent 'sentiments', i.e. the toasts which were so commonly pledged in eighteenth-century Scotland. Fergusson's attitude, compared with that of his fellow-citizen M-, is more relaxed and spontaneous. There is thus no fear of his filling out a line in all earnestness with platitudes such as "That fears nor storm's assault, nor tempest's roar", but instead he can surprise us with the totally unexpected, as in his last verse. We notice, too, his closeness to the language of the common people, in a semi-proverbial expression like "As lang's there's pith into the barrel/ We'll drink and 'gree." Whereas M- adopts a condescending aloofness towards

the revellers and makes them seem quite respectable, Fergusson becomes part of the company in the Edinburgh 'howff' and, more realistically, makes no pretence of self-righteousness.

The confrontation between a man of fashion and a sentimentalist in one of the Weekly Magazine's essays has already been described as symbolic of the literary revolution that took place during the eighteenth century (p.129). Fergusson's poem 'The Sow of Feeling', in which he attacked Henry Mackenzie, might be interpreted as containing a similar symbolic confrontation. In Fergusson's best work one is aware of the sense of community, the sense of belonging. The figure of the sentimental wanderer is absent. He is a town poet, and in some respects might almost be called an Augustan. But yet his work and that of his fellow Magazine writers in Scots should not be regarded as a throw-back from the pre-romantics and sentimentalists to something more antiquated. H.P. McDiarmid has described as a limitation the fact that in Fergusson's time Scots was considered suitable only for poetic subjects of a humorous or lowly

nature. But this apparent limitation has been the saving grace of Scottish poetry. Endowed with too much earthy humour to take himself over-seriously, the Scots poet is in no danger of falling into postures of sentimental affectation or stilted artificiality.

The first blow for the continued existence of Scottish poetry was struck, not by 'The Daft-Days', but, rather strangely, by a verse epistle of Beattie to Alexander Ross (I,275). Although this was a reprint from the Aberdeen Journal, in its Weekly Magazine context of artificial English verse it looks quite sensational. The Scottish poet's attitude, even more than his language, comes as a relief after what had gone before in this section of the Magazine, so much more homely, sincere, down-to-earth and hard-hitting. Although not disdaining to call a spade a spade, Beattie shows in his ninth verse, justly admired by a reader (I,404), that the Scottish scene and the Scottish language could provide real poetry, without the affectations of a fictitious Arcadia:-

O bonny are our greensward hows,
Where through the birks the burny rows,
And the bee bums, and the ox lows,
And saft winds rusle,
And shepherd-lads on sunny knows,
Blaw the blythe fusle.

The whole piece is more than just a familiar and ephemeral verse epistle. It makes a stated case for the continued use of the national language as a literary medium, presenting in the third and fourth verses from the end a roll-call of those poets, such as Dunbar and Douglas, who had achieved greatness through their use of the old tongue.

Examination of the Magazine's files shows that all the other Scots poems by little-known writers were published after Fergusson had started to contribute. A fairly well-founded guess might therefore be made that he provided the example, if not always the model for imitation. There would be little point in discussing pieces like Charles Keith's 'The Farmer's Ha' ', John Mayne's Hallow-E'en' and 'The Siller Gun' that are patently imitations of specific poems by Fergusson: they suffer from the defects of all imitations made seriously by someone who is not a master. Instead, it may

be worth-while to isolate from Fergusson's influence some of the elements, possibly of independent origin and certainly of literary value, present in the work of other contributors writing poetry in Scots.

The most accomplished Scots poem in the Magazine showing little trace of Fergusson's influence is probably the imitation of Horace, Book I, Ode IX by the unidentified 'Vanlu' of Aberdeen (28th January 1773, XIX,146), written in rime couée, a rather unusual metre for an eighteenth-century poet. The complete text is not reproduced here as it is reprinted in an appendix to the Scottish Text Society's edition of Fergusson's poems (II,246). This piece should not be compared with Fergusson's version of Horace, Book I, Ode XI (not published in the Magazine), a tour de force of fairly strict translation, rendering the Latin into "language such as men do use" instead of the no-man's language of too many translations. 'Vanlu's poem is something different: he calls it rightly an imitation. It may, therefore, profitably be compared with Ramsay's "Look up to Pentland's towring Tap", also an imitation, and an imitation

based, of course, on the same Horatian ode. Both could be described as being in the same relation to Vides ut alta stet... as a painting is to a pencil drawing. Both Ramsay and 'Vanlu' choose a certain aspect of the original and work it out in picturesque detail far beyond Horace's limits. Each of them is typically Scottish in his awareness of the physical presence of what is being described in detail. Ramsay chooses to develop the amatory aspect, and makes it the most important feature of his poem. 'Vanlu' plays down that particular aspect, giving it even less attention than Horace did, and instead develops the grimmer aspects of winter and old age.

Look up, my friend, look up and see,
The hills of North and Bannochie,
  What heaps of snaw lie o' them!
Lord help the bodies of the hills,
For neither plows, nor kills, nor mills,
  Can gang this day amo' them.

The hills are white, the woods are blew,
There's neither drink for horse nor cow
  (The wells are smor'd wi' drift),
But when the silly servant lad
Flings aff the snaw wi' shool and spade,
  And makes a sorry shift.

The development of the old-age aspect is worthy of the medieval 'makars', almost terrifying in its stark

intensity:-

...'Ere age come creeping like a snail,
And make you twa-fald like a flail,
And nail you to the blankets;

Flyp baith your cheeks, and fur your brow,
Twin you of teeth and mark o' mou',
And sharp your whitlie nose,
And with your fabric act a farce
Will gar your breeks hing o'er your a-e
And legs haf fill your hose.

The line "And make you twa-fald like a flail" might seem to be derived from Ramsay's "And lay ye twafald o'er a rung" and, even with the addition of a picturesque simile, is not necessarily an improvement. Ramsay's line is equally vivid, perhaps even better because it is simpler.

The number of vernacular poems couched in the form of the eclogue or pastoral dialogue cannot escape attention, e.g. A PASTORAL in the SCOTS Dialect, in imitation of VIRGIL's First Eclogue (28th October 1773, XXII,146-147) where the classical dialogue is transported with some care to a Scottish landscape, possibly gaining topical interest from the current problem of Highland emigration:-

ROBIN

So Symon, lie you here? it's weil wi' you,

> To sing an' sleep's the maist ye ha'e to do:
> God help us! we our lang-held houff maun flee,
> And seek anither hame beyond the sea;
> While laid fu' keidgily aneath the shade,
> Wi' leaves and lilies reesling round your head;
> Of dautit Peggy's gowden locks you sing,
> Till hill an' dale wi' Peggy's praises ring...

This recourse to a classical poem might represent a desire to rid the pastoral of its accumulated artificiality by going back to a purer form. The use of such a model would permit a Scottish poem to be acceptable even if it did not aspire above the level of homely and relaxed conversation. But the popularity of the eclogue could also be seen as evidence that the Magazine's minor Scots poets were looking to Ramsay as well as Fergusson for inspiration: the situation described in A PASTORAL ECLOGUE in the Caledonian Dialect (20th February 1777, XXXV,273-274) is very similar to that in Ramsay's Patie and Roger. Unfortunately all these pastorals lack the supreme ease and naturalism of Fergusson's elegiac eclogue on Professor Wilkie, where the accepted convention is so successfully submerged in the view of the Scottish scene as to be completely unobtrusive. In all these other examples, as indeed in 'The Twa Dogs'

of Burns, one is perhaps a little too conscious of the stereotyped beginning and ending, whereby it is explained how the interlocutors found occasion to talk, and how the weather or the time of day at length terminated their conversation.

Descriptions of winter figure frequently in the Magazine's dialect poems. The authors were only too familiar with the season's severity, which could be quite well portrayed through the expressive sounds of their native speech:

> Bleak winter reigns, ilk hill's o'erlaid wi' snaw,
> Cauld frae the north wi' bir the tempests blaw;
> The rowan spait ilk neib'ring tenant drees,
> While brattling hailstanes sough amang the trees:
> Syne the herd lads, saebiens they canna' tent
> Their cauldrife hirsles on the elricht bent,
> To shun the storm their doors they carefu' steek...
> (MARION. A PASTORAL. 16th October 1777, XXXVIII, 63-64)

Not unnaturally the Scots were also familiar with remedies against the inclemency of winter, and conviviality is equally prominent among the themes of their verse. Outside the work of Fergusson, the finest expression of conviviality in the Magazine is undoubtedly Skinner's Tullochgorum (2nd May 1776, XXXII,177-178; an alternative version appears under

30th January 1777, XXXV,178). M.P. McDiarmid writes, "The earliest appearance of Skinner's excellent song, to my knowledge, is in The Weekly Magazine, 2 May, 1776"[1] but there seems no reason to doubt the veracity of the editor, in his introduction to the song:

> An incorrect copy of the following very agreeable Scots Song having lately appeared in another Publication, falsely ascribed to a celebrated writer, we are desired by the connections of the real author to present our readers with a genuine copy.

With its echoing repetitions producing somehow a tremendous sense of warmth and social merriment, it has all the appearance of a drinking song, and yet, surprisingly, the element of drink is quite absent from it.

Skinner's song would probably not be nearly so good as it is but for the fact it was written to fit an existing tune. This brings us to mention the last feature of literary value, independent of Fergusson, in the Magazine's vernacular poems, the folk-song element, which has been the saving grace of more than one minor Scots poet. When composing his verses to fit the metre of a traditional tune, the poet is able to forget the restrictive requirements of more elaborate

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1 Op. cit., II,255.

literary forms, and is encouraged to express his feelings with greater simplicity and unrestrained spontaneity than would otherwise be possible. To illustrate this point, an example from the number for 23rd October 1777 (XXXVIII,88) is given entire:-

For the WEEKLY MAGAZINE
The SOGER'S RETURN. A NEW SONG.
Tune, Push about the Jorum.

THE tither morn,
When I, forlorn,
Aneath an aik sat moaning,
I did na trow
I'd see my jo,
Beside me 'gain' the glowming.
But he fu' trig,
Lap o'er the rig,
And dawtingly did cheer me,
When I, what reck!
Did least expect
To see my laddie near me.

His bonnet he,
A thought a-jee,
Cock'd sprush when first he clasp'd me
And I, I wat,
Wi' fainness grat,
While in his grips he press'd me!
Deil tak the war!
I late and air
Have wish'd since Jock departed;
But now as glad
I'm wi' my lad
As shortsyne broken-hearted!

Fu' aft at e'en,
Wi' dancing keen,
When a' were blythe and merry,
I car'd na by,
Sae sad was I

In absence of my deary.
   But praise be blest!
   My mind's at rest,
I'm happy wi' my Johny!
   At kirk and fair,
   I'se ay be there,
And be as canty's ony.

As the Weekly Magazine bears witness, Scots songs were very popular at that time in London.[1] Some of them were reproduced "as sung by Mrs. Wrighten" at Vauxhall Gardens - 'The Favourite Kissing Song', 'Willy's Rare and Willy's Fair', 'Where new mown hay, on winding Tay' (XXXVII,232, 256; XLI,17). The two last-mentioned examples, like the original 'The Lass of Bowgate' (Tune 'The Bonniest Lass in a' the World', XLVI,89) are really Anglo-Scots, since the Scots language element is small. Yet in them, especially at the refrain, we find the same simple and artless emotion expressed without self-conscious restraint, as in 'The Soger's Return'. It is freely admitted that these pieces do not depend for their success on use of the vernacular, since this is present only in small quantities. What we have here is something approaching

1 Cf. Ruddiman's note to the alternative version of Tullochgorum: "We hear Miss Catley is figuring away with it at Covent-Garden theatre." (XXXV,178).

pure folk-song, for which dialect is not necessary. Nevertheless folk-song and vernacular combined may have a powerful effect. A more accomplished song in Scots occurs in the number for 1st January 1784 (LIX,14), reproduced in full here, as it deserves. Unfortunntely it lacks the superscription 'For the Weekly Magazine' and may, therefore, be a reprint.

A LUVE SANG to Bonny KATE, our neist door Neighbour.

Tho' Winter comes wi' breath sae sneil,
And nips wi' frost the gyzan'd gowan,
Yet frosty winter (strange to tell)
Has set my thrawart heart a-lowin.

Whan a' the chiels, wi' noses blae,
Creep chitt'ring to the canty ingle,
Thro' sleet and snaw to Kate I gae,
Drawn wi' a whang o' Cupid's lingel.

If in a dub I chance to plash,
Up to the lugs, like mad Leander;
The dub plays phiz, whan down I clash,
Just like a herring on a brander.

O gin the Muse wad grant my boon,
And steal the pipe of Jamie Beattie;
Wi' pith I'd blaw the poet's drone,
And sing the charms of bonny Katy.

For Katy's sonsy, Katy's fair,
She' sweet, and buxom, blyth, and gawsy;
There's nae lass can wi' Kate compare
O' a' that walks Edina's causey.

When first I met her glances keen,
I fan' my heart wi' luve sae ruggit,
That troth I curst her pauky een,
And wish'd that they had baith been pluggit.

Gin there be ony lumpish ass
Wha disna fin' his heart-strings kittle,
As soon's he sees my Katy's face -
I doubt he's made o' saftish mettle.

Whan our back-dore I gang to steek,
And bonny Kate frae her back winnock,
Gies a bit slee and smiling keek,
It warms me like a toasted bannock.

To sleep I try - but de'il a wink -
(Frae hopless luve may Fate ay screen us)!
I sprawl and spratt1e whan I think
There's nought but a bit loan atween us.

Lang syne Leander, ilka night,
Swam owr the sea at Hero's bidding;
But gin my Kate wad me invite,
I've nought ado but jump the midding.

One may observe here the use of similes, "like a herring on a brander", "like a toasted bannock", so homely and appropriate to the native scene that they may well have their origin in common speech rather than in literary invention. The phrase "sprawl and sprattle", more familiar from Burns's 'To a Louse' may also be a colloquial expression. The tone of frank, easy conversation is also fostered by the metre, with a hypermetrical syllable at the end of the second and fourth lines in each stanza. It is gratifying to notice how completely classical mythology has been assimilated into the

vernacular context with humorous effect, avoiding all taint of artificiality, e.g. "wi' a whang o' Cupid's lingel", "up to the lugs, like mad Leander", with which compare "Styx, that filthy burn" in I.G.'s 'Verses from the Living to the Dead' addressed to Fergusson (XXXIII,82) or the comic involvement of the goddess in the situation described in Fergusson's own 'Leith Races'. But more important still in the 'Luve Sang' is the relentless impetus and verve carrying the sense forward, something not always present even in Fergusson at his best. This quality is obviously derived from the musical foundation, or at least musical association, and as in so many Scottish songs, the rhythm is almost that of a lively dance.

If we look for literary connections, then it might be said that this category of native verse in the Magazine looks back to Ramsay, forward to Burns. The element of Scots song is scarcely evident in Fergusson, but it would not be true to say it is entirely absent; it only disappears to run underground. One thinks of his personal exploits in

singing, of 'The Lee Rig', his solitary written specimen of this art, but also of the ballad style in 'Leith Races'[1] and the marvellous atmosphere of gay abandon at the beginning of 'The Election', in its rhythm strongly reminiscent of 'There's nae Luck about the House'.

Space cannot, unfortunately, be found in the present chapter to discuss Fergusson's English poems. In all fairness it may be said, however, that when they are viewed in the correct chronological order that can be easily established from their date of publication in the Weekly Magazine, a decided improvement is apparent, from the early pastoral pieces of 1771-1772 to such productions of 1773 as, for instance 'The Sow of Feeling' and 'To Dr. Johnson' which are first-rate of their kind. But that kind is the genre of satire, destructive, imitating something in order to make fun of it. His Scots poems are constructive, they present an objective view of life, even if the view-point is predominantly humorous. And in discussing his work it is easy to

1 Noticed by McDiarmid, op cit., II,293.

over-stress the humorous element, so as to give the impression there is nothing else. One should remember that serious love-song, 'The Lee Rig', which Burns admitted he could not excel, the memory of halcyon student days - "Say ye, red gowns..." - in the 'Elegy on John Hogg', the opening lament in the 'Eclogue, to the Memory of Dr. William Wilkie', "Blaw saft, my reed, and kindly to my maen", with its long muted sounds exploiting to the full the qualities of the language.

Briefly, the Scots verse in the Weekly Magazine is preferable to the English because it is closer to life, to the real life that these poets knew. Perhaps their experience of life was restricted, but their reaction to it in the native tongue is sincere and perfectly valid, even if it is a humorous view, or a worm's-eye view. McDiarmid's assertion, mentioned earlier, that in the eighteenth century Scottish dialect verse was limited in its scope, considered appropriate only for humble or humorous subjects, should not be misunderstood to mean that the vernacular cannot be an effective medium for more

serious subjects, or that the comic vision of life is distorted and untrue.

It should be remembered that not only Fergusson, but also most of the minor vernacular poets in the Weekly Magazine contributed pieces in English as well as Scots. It almost seems as if they did not realise one medium was preferable to the other. As McDiarmid writes of Fergusson, "There was no question, of course, of a decision between the two mediums of expression, of a choice having to be made between two paths to fame. Fergusson obviously intended to follow both the English and the Scottish ways."[1] Perhaps Ruddiman himself was a little more perceptive. Whereas he scarcely ever praised any of the English verse contributions, he wrote thus when introducing some Scottish verses addressed to himself:-

> The following Scots stanzas were addressed to the Publisher by an anonymous correspondent. We now insert them for the sake of the humour and the language, and not from any motive of vanity or ostentation. They are not a despicable imitation of Fergusson, whose genius we wish to see revived - Sed quando ullum inveniemus parem?
> (14th April 1779, XLIV,66).

Viewed against the context of other literary

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1 Op. cit., I,33.

movements represented in the Magazine, Scottish poetry stands apart, almost timeless. An affinity between Fergusson and the Augustans was suggested earlier, but the differences are stronger than the similarities. Closer all the time to real life and to nature, the native verse had no need to react violently as the main current of English literature did, from the extreme of neo-classicism to the extreme of naturalism. The cult of sensibility could be just as artificial as anything it was meant to replace.

If one searches in the Weekly Magazine for any signs of a flowering of Scots prose comparable to that of Scots poetry, the result is extremely disappointing. The few passages of continuous Scottish prose that are encountered show clearly that the medium could not flourish even in such a fertile soil as Ruddiman's journal.[1] Semi-humorous or trivial, they merely reproduce the tone of commonplace conversation. There is no attempt to transmute life into literature. An impression is conveyed merely of

1 IV,241-243 - a reprint; XXVI,79-80; XXXI,144; XLII,158-159, 204-205.

something primitive, which is not true of the Magazine's vernacular poetry.

CHAPTER IX SOCIAL LIFE AND CONTROVERSIES

Although the Weekly Magazine was truly national in its scope, it was especially, by the definition of its alternative title, the magazine of Edinburgh, Edinburgh in the first part of its Golden Age. One expects, therefore, to see some reflection of the intellectual activity of the city in its pages, and is not disappointed. The chief manifestation of that activity is the club. However, as Ruddiman's miscellany was predominantly a journal patronised by the middle class, we are concerned here with clubs frequented, not by the upper class and literati, but by clerks, merchants, tradesmen. It is to the credit of such people that the societies in which they united did not degenerate into mere tippling clubs.[1] The spirit of bonhomie was not

1 Apart from the Weekly Magazine, the main source of information on clubs for this chapter is D.D. McElroy: The Literary Clubs and Societies of 18th Century Scotland.

absent, nor should it have been, but an attempt, by no means inconsiderable, was also made to cultivate literature, rhetoric, and the arts generally.

The first club mentioned by name is the Cape Club (founded 1763/1764), in a piece of news about its activities on Wednesday 6th September 1769 (V,352):-

> A society of gentlemen in this city, distinguished by the appellation of KNIGHTS OF THE CAPE, held a musical festival in honour of SHAKESPEARE, on Wednesday the 6th. An ode, written on this occasion by one of those gentlemen, and set to music by another, was performed; which was followed with a grand concert of music, conducted by the best performers in this country. An elegant cold collation was served up, and a generous glass circled round the company, who spent a truly Attic evening, and perfectly enjoyed "The feast of Benson and the flow of soul."

This festival coincided with the more elaborate Shakespeare Jubilee celebrations at Stratford-upon-Avon. The Cape Club commemorated the birthdays of other literary men in a similar fashion, especially that of the poet Thomson. References in the Weekly Magazine to ceremonies in honour of Thomson conducted by "a number of young gentlemen, lovers of the muses" (28th September 1769, V,415) and - less certain - "several gentlemen of eminence in the

literary world" (31st May 1770, VIII,275) may perhaps allude to the proceedings of the Cape Club. The poetry section in the issue for 11th October 1770 is entirely taken up with the words of a Cape Club cantata performed that year in remembrance of the poet's birthday. Writing in the number of a fortnight later, a correspondent mentioned their observance, and argued that so great a poet deserved to be remembered in celebrations of a more public nature (X,114-115). Certainly this society numbered among its members men who could quite readily produce the verse and music required on such occasions.[1] Fergusson was a member, admitted on 10th October 1772 under the appellation 'Sir Precentor.' At the initiation ceremony each new member was dubbed a 'knight' and obliged to recount some story against himself, from which the assembled conclave assigned him a title. Almost certainly, Fergusson, at his initiation ceremony, must have recounted the prank of his student days fully described in Grosart's biography.[2] Ruddiman, too,

1 McDiarmid, op. cit., I,53-55.
2 A.B. Grosart, Robert Fergusson, pp.57-58.

was a member, with the title 'Sir Mill Dam', but since he was admitted only on 27th December 1776 (not 1774 as stated by Charles Rogers[1]) poet and patron could never have met as Knights of the Cape. In the Club records may be observed also the admission of one of Ruddiman's most valuable correspondents, David Loch, 'Sir Altena', 15th March 1776. The meeting-place was a tavern, but the outlay was modest - normally not more than sixpence being spent by each member on beer or porter in the course of the evening.

More prominent in the Weekly Magazine's pages is another society, one that from its nature and development could not have met easily in a tavern. This was the Pantheon debating society, date of origin unknown, which on 25rd December 1773 changed its name, venue and frequency of meeting, from the weekly 'Robin Hood', Thistle Lodge, Carrubber's Close to the fortnightly 'Pantheon', St. Mary's Chapel, Niddry's Wynd. One speech from its earlier days exists in the Magazine, signed G.C. - An ESSAY on the Question, Whether FATALITY be agreeable or

1 Social Life in Scotland, II, 380-382.

not to Reason? Debated in the Robin Hood society on Thursday the 8th of April 1773. Humbly addressed to the PRAESES, and inscribed to Dr B[LACKLOC]K. (22nd April 1773, XX,99-100). A little later occur two essays signed 'ROBIN HOOD' which because of their frequent rhetorical use of the word 'Sir' read more like speeches than essays, and may be relics of the same weekly meetings (6th, 13th May 1773, XX,171-172, 202-203).

But under its new name this society occupied a great deal of space in Ruddiman's magazine: over the period 1774-1782 its proceedings were represented by 38 articles, consisting either of single speeches printed verbatim or else reported summaries of debates. One feels inclined to ask whether there was some close link between the society and the journal, and whether the speakers submitted their speeches for subsequent publication from some sort of vanity. If there was a link, it was probably that the Pantheon circle read Ruddiman's journal. People of the middle class in Edinburgh would be likely to patronise both the society and the paper.

But the orators cannot altogether be accused of vanity in having their speeches printed. They were sometimes actually implored to do so by other correspondents. Thus we find the following in the number for 23rd March 1775 (XXVII,394):-

SIR,
It is with pleasure I have observed in your entertaining Miscellany some extracts from the speeches delivered upon various subjects in the Pantheon. I am only sorry that so few of the speakers communicate their judicious remarks to the public through the same channel. I think it is a pity that a false modesty should prevent so many useful as well as entertaining observations from being preserved in our public repositories.

Somewhat later 'Philo-Pantheon' expressed the hope that speakers at the next debate would publish their speeches, since he could not be present on that particular occasion (16th June 1779, XLIV,287-288).

A glance at the list of subjects discussed[1] shows that the citizens of Edinburgh took a keen interest in religious, speculative, social and political questions of the day. When speakers such as David Loch were present (XXXVI,38) the audience could be assured of debating that was both lively

1 McElroy, op. cit., pp.639-645, gives a list, largely obtained from the Weekly Magazine.

and well-informed. Moreover, as the printed records show, requirements of rhetoric forced the participants to consider problems of effective style more seriously than they might otherwise have done.

The Weekly Magazine also furnishes interesting details about the organisation of the Pantheon and its place in the cultural life of Edinburgh. It was unusual among eighteenth-century clubs and societies in that it admitted women. Apparently a decision to exclude them had been made at about the time the society was reconstituted under its new name, if we are to judge from a poem, On hearing that the Members of the PANTHEON had resolved to admit no Ladies into their Society, By Miss J.S., in the number for 3rd March 1774, but they must have been admitted very soon afterwards, as their presence is mentioned in an account dated 13th April 1775 (XXVIII, 78). Although the average number present at each meeting is stated in this account to have been 160, a distinction must be drawn between members and guests and visitors, made plain by the following extract:-

SIR,

HAVING heard much of a literary society in this city, called the Pantheon, I was desired by some of my acquaintance, in a populous country town where I live, to inquire concerning the regulations of that society the first time I came to Edinburgh, as it was intended to institute one of the same kind in our town; and they requested I would transmit them an account of it in your useful Magazine. I accordingly applied to one of the members of the Pantheon for the necessary information, when he very discreetly gave me the following account, viz. That their society consisted of about twenty members, all of whom obtained admission by having spoke upon three different questions proposed by the society: That they meet once in a fortnight in the summer and winter sessions, betwixt eight and ten o'clock in the evening, in order to debate upon a question that had been previously given out at the last meeting; and that every member must officiate as president, or clerk, in rotation for four successive meetings; but that a member not having spoke three times, on the meetings immediately preceding his turn for being president, disqualifies him for that office for that time, and the next in rotation who qualifies takes the chair: That two hundred tickets are divided among the members to give to their acquaintances, as well ladies as gentlemen, for their admission as visitors; and the visitors have an equal right with the members to speak and vote upon every question that is proposed to be publicly debated on in that society; and that every gentleman, members as well as visitors, after having given their ticket to a waiter at the door of the place of meeting, must give a sixpence to another waiter; a third gives each gentleman a mutchkin bottle of rum punch and a glass; and thus provided he may take his seat in any place of the room he pleases, except the seats allotted for the ladies, who pay nothing, and are also treated by the members with fruits in season; and that every member, who omits publicly to deliver his sentiments in the society for two meetings together, forfeits his share of the admission tickets; so that often the whole number of tickets are

divided amongst only one third of the members. His silence in public likewise deprives him of interfering in the private business of the society in any respect; but the moment he again speaks on any public question, he is restored to all his privileges as a member.

The funds of this society arise from the small profits on the punch, which are so well managed, that out of them they pay their house rent, fruit for the ladies, candles, and waiters, and yet have a considerable reversion, every farthing of which they give in charity. Every visitor also, who speaks in that society, is intitled to three admission tickets for next meeting. - Such are the principal regulations of that society.

(10th August 1775, XXIX, 203-204).

The only significant details missing in this very comprehensive description are that no-one was allowed to speak for more than fifteen minutes, and that the average attendance was 160 (13th April 1775, XXVIII, 76). Soon afterwards its popularity must have increased, for 180 ladies and 240 gentlemen, making a total of 420 persons, are said to have been present at a meeting in 1779 (XLII,274). No doubt the decision to award silver medals for competition in composition and public speaking helped to increase public interest, and several times the society's proceedings were considered important enough to warrant a separate section, 'Pantheon Intelligence', in the news department of the Magazine (15th January,

1st February, 22nd April, 2nd, 10th, 19th June 1780). McElroy points out that the Pantheon's increasing popular appeal damaged its status as a serious debating society,[1] but, nevertheless, visitors to the city found it more intellectually stimulating than the usual round of entertainments provided in the capital, such as races, plays, balls, assemblies, concerts, oratorios, ridottos (XXIX,299).

> Upon the whole, Mr. Printer, I think I have not spent an evening more agreeably since I came to your metropolis than in the Pantheon, which, whether it is considered as a public entertainment, a school of rhetoric, or a charitable society, is a most useful and beneficial institution - the fair sex, too, are here entertained in a more genteel and polite manner than at most places of public resort. (XXVIII,73)

But, since the Weekly Magazine was an open forum for all opinions, the other side of the picture must also be presented, this time a lone voice. In an article on poor relief, 'Pym' from Castlehill complained about the debauchery of Edinburgh clubs:-

> There are numbers of tradesmen, merchants and others, who associate themselves into clubs under different denominations, some of which meet every night, others once a week, fortnight, or monthly,

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1 Op. cit., pp. 230-237.

according to their several regulations. These meetings may be very agreeable, if not too often held, and if kept within proper bounds, but many of them serve only to gratify our sensual appetites, and pave the way to midnight scenes of intemperance, riot and debauchery...At what period these meetings were first begun to be held is at present foreign to my purpose to inquire; but we are told, that even sovereigns have deigned to visit them, and have dubbed their subjects with the specious epithet of knights companions of the most noble orders. If any seeds of royalty still remain, let them be shown in promoting such a glorious undertaking as associations for the relief of the poor and needy, to which every true Briton will chearfully contribute his aid: nay, those social souls who have even boasted of an Ursa Major at their head, and a Vulcan to animate their fires, will not fail to exert ~~to exert~~ themselves for the establishment of so laudable a plan. In short, Mr Printer, I dare say, from the capillaire, down to the fiends that inhabit pandemonium, every individual will throw in his mite.
(29th September 1774, XXVI,15-16)

There is an almost certain allusion here to the Cape Club, whose president had the title of 'sovereign', and whose members were styled 'knights companions.' The association honoured by the presence of Johnson (Ursa Major) might perhaps be the Physico-Theological Society (cf. p.87)[1] and Vulcan I take to be Adam Smith. Capillaire is more difficult to explain; it might be a second, more indirect reference to the Cape Club, or it might

1 McElroy, however, assumes this society was fictitious, op. cit., p.489.

refer to the Capilliare society, "formed in order to create a taste for certain fashionable liqueurs".[1] If pandemonium is a humorous name for the Pantheon, the accusation would seem to be unfair, in view of the purpose, already described, to which the society's profits were put.

Mention of Edinburgh poor relief may lead us to consider the Weekly Magazine's opinions on social questions generally. In an age when people were still executed for theft, as the Magazine's own news columns testify, Scottish agitation for penal reform was not absent. The most sensible article on the subject of capital punishment came from the pen of 'Philaretes', residing at Berwick-upon-Tweed (XIV,39-41). After a philosophical introduction on the origin of legal punishments he observed that the efficacy of a punishment is not necessarily proportionate to its severity. In the light of this remark he was led to tackle the problem of deciding what punishment was appropriate for particular crimes, and showed great enlightenment in his argument that we should study the

1 Rogers, op. cit., II,387.

criminal's background before proceeding to pass sentence:-

All criminals are not hardened, and therefore should be treated with a clemency suited to their unhappy circumstances. Some are drawn unawares into crimes, which render them obnoxious to civil justice. Some are driven through evil company, necessity, force of passion, temptation or despair, want of knowledge and education, or by habits of idleness, and aversion to industry and labour.

He considered that death should be the standard penalty for murder, but excepted the case of child-murder, pleading for a sympathetic understanding of the plight of those women who were driven to kill their illegitimate offspring by terror of the Kirk and its stool of repentance:-

In all such cases, where it appears that the woman has been deceived by a promise of marriage, and dreaded the severity and ignominy of church discipline, were I dictator, she should neither die, nor cross the Atlantic. I would confine her for seven years to a well-regulated Magdalene-house, and compel her, by the severity of a hungry meal, to work so much every day, and at the end of her servitude, she should have the price of her labour put into her hands, and be restored to all the rights of a free-born Briton.

Other correspondents followed him in this view, and also in the converse opinion that the seducer or adulterer should be punished with the utmost severity, even death, instead of going scot-free as the law allowed

(XIV,142; XV,33-36; XXVI,229-230).

When it came to lesser crimes such as theft, 'Philaretes' would have proceeded on the principle, "That no man (murderers excepted) should be deprived of life, whilst he can be of any use to society." To the commonly accepted aims of punishment, prevention, determent, reformation, he wished to add that of restitution to the injured party:-

> ...in reality, Sir, I never thought that the stealing an ox, a horse, or a little money, was such a heinous crime, that the miserable villain's life must pay for it. A bankrupt who robs me of 200l. goes free, or perhaps sits among the people's judges; but a poor man, with perhaps a wife and five starving children, who takes forty shillings from me on the road, must be hanged. O shameful and disgraceful partiality! Let such rather be confined to labour, and a proper task of work, and let the profits thereof be given to him who lost his ox, his horse, or his cash, by way of restitution.

For this reason he condemned the sentence of transportation, commonly passed in those days, as profitless to the state. Moreover, once the criminals had reached the colonies, it was difficult to control their punishment effectively (cf. VIII,65-68).

Other correspondents attempted to tackle a problem which was a frequent cause of crime, the problem of vagrant beggars in Scotland. In his

letter published on 24th October 1771, 'A Farmer' set out a four-point programme for dealing with this social nuisance:

1. Beggars should be cleared out of the towns, their customary place of refuge, whence they sallied out to annoy the surrounding countryside.
2. Houses of correction should be set up, where vagrants could be detained without limit of time to work for their living.
3. Persons, such as keepers of obscure ale-houses, found guilty of harbouring idle vagabonds should be severely punished.
4. The deserving poor should be properly cared for. Funds for this purpose ought to be raised by voluntary almsgiving rather than by voluntary assessment for poor relief, so as to stimulate feelings of Christian charity among the general population. (XIV,106-108; cf. XIII,360-363, 397)

The minor vices of the age, often cloaked by respectability, did not pass without censure, habits such as 'male-hugging' (V,368-369), dram-drinking by the female sex (XX,199-200), and the enormous

consumption of food and drink at Scottish funerals, of which the following is a fairly modest estimate:-

> When one dies in the country, instead of inviting his relations, near neighbours, or acquaintance, a whole country-side is called in, frequently to the amount of 150 or 200, who commonly conveen from ten in the morning till one or two in the afternoon, - thus a whole day is lost in the busy seasons. The company are, in their turns, uniformly entertained; first a tankard of ale goes round, then, what they call short bread, cakes made of flour, much buttered; after this, each person gets a glass of wine; then seed-cake, plumb-cake, or fruit-loaf, commonly very rich, is produced, cut into square pieces, weighing three or four ounces each; every man takes up a piece, and, by the custom of the country, puts it, or may put in his pocket. After two more glasses of wine, a dram of brandy or whisky concludes the entertainment, when the first comers turn out, to make way for others. (XXX,234-236)

It would be profitless to rehearse at any length the controversies which exercised the pens of Ruddiman's contributors. The religious disputes, in particular, have long ago lost their interest. On education not much was said that was new. It was, however, a significant sign of the times that, under the aegis of Walter Ruddiman, quite a few were found ready to rebel against all that his uncle Thomas the grammarian had stood for, the tradition of Scottish Latinity, then passing away. Their pleas for a course of school instruction based on

English rather than Latin and Greek must be viewed in the light of a repeated reminder that the Weekly Magazine was to a great extent an organ of the commercial classes:-

> ...youth destined for trade and business should have an intimate acquaintance with the beauties and proprieties of their native tongue, in order to enable them to read, speak and write the same with ease, elegance and precision; this being an attainment equally desirable as necessary, and greatly preferable to the extent of that of our modern acquirers, who, perhaps not one of a hundred that learns Latin and Greek, ever attains to more than a meer smattering in these languages...Is it not disgraceful, that, in most country towns, the teacher of Latin is carressed beyond measure, and that the English is only taught as being subservient to the important end of acquiring a smattering in the Latin tongue -. Hence the teaching of English becomes the province of a few old women, or of mechanics in desperate circumstances, who fly to that as the last resource.
> (XIII,238,240; cf. XIII,385-389)

Equally significant is the fact that in an article setting forth the opposite point of view, only one argument carries any real weight, namely that knowledge of Latin provides the key to a valuable literature (XIII,289-291).

Rumblings of the Ossianic debate were not absent, but the arguments of those who pinned their faith on the authenticity of the poems make melancholy reading to-day. Even the editors, both father

and son, it would appear, supported Macpherson (XXXI,97;LIII,313-318, 343-348). One of the secondary repercussions is somewhat diverting. The Rev. William Shaw, a hostile critic, had accused John Clark, who championed Macpherson, of a literary fraud similar to Macpherson's own. Clark retorted with anecdotes about Shaw's performances in the pulpit. When preaching near Glasgow on the uncertainty of life, it was alleged he said, "And even I who now preach to you may be instantly called hence," and then dropped down in the pulpit for dramatic effect. He tried the same trick at Campbeltown, but unfortunately the news of his former imposture had preceded him, and the congregation's reaction was not concern, only laughter (LIII,315,335; LIV,125).[1]

Other favourite topics of discussion, in which the pros and cons were fairly evenly represented, included Anglo-American policy, the Corn Bill, Roman Catholic toleration, slavery, Church patronage and emigration. The last two of these deserve some

1 For a later rehabilitation of Shaw's reputation, see J.S. Smart, op. cit., pp.153-156.

attention here because of their importance in the history of Scotland. Traces of patronage procedure lingered right on into the first half of the twentieth century, but to-day the right of congregations to choose their own minister is generally accepted as an important principle in the constitution of a truly democratic Church of Scotland. In the eighteenth century, however, those who spoke up against the patronage system were swimming against the tide. Most of the arguments produced in the Magazine in favour of patronage were irrelevant; the only one worthy of serious consideration was that the common people were too ignorant to make a wise choice such as would be made by the lay patrons who, because of their land-owning status, would have had a better education (XXVIII,202-205). Against this it was urged that patronage would cause induction to vacant charges to go by influence, not by merit, that it could only increase the number of dissatisfied seceders, that the people could not possibly choose unwisely if their range of choice was limited to those candidates approved by presbyteries (IV,12-14;

XXVIII,257-258, 264-266; XXIX,35-37,229-231). Two articles by 'Vindex' were published on the subject, showing such a responsible tone and competent understanding of the constitutional problems involved that one would like to know who he was (LVIII, 135-139, 360-362). Praying for the repeal of Act 10th Queen Anne (the Patronage Act of 1712), he demonstrated that it was contrary to the twelfth chapter of the Second Book of Discipline, where it was laid down that "persons called to ecclesiastical functions must be elected, so that none be intruded upon a congregation either by a prince, or any inferior person, without lawful election."

By the eighteenth century depopulation of Scotland, not only in the Highlands, had already become a serious problem, and writers to the Magazine demanded that the economic causes should be investigated. One suggested cause was the monopoly of farms, i.e. the tendency to concentrate land in the hands of a few wealthy farmers, who forced out the poorer tenants by raising the rents (XXXIII, 168-169, 263-264, 363-364). An attempt was made,

not very successfully, to reply on behalf of the landowners, that they could hardly be expected to ignore the chances of profit which came their way, and - rather lamely - that the blame should be laid on other causes such as the increase in population, the decline of manufactures and trade, and the attraction of life in North America (XXIV,9-11). A very honest letter from 'Philanthropos', written with the becoming modesty which is such a refreshing feature of many Magazine epistles, acknowledged that if America was as attractive as others made it out to be, then it provided a blessed means of escape to those in misery at home, but asked that the problem should be tackled at the root, at home (XXIV, 135-136). The good sense of this was strikingly borne out soon after by the first-person account of one about to embark for America, a tenant farmer from Galloway whom only the prospect of starvation would compel to leave his beloved native land (XXIV, 175). The challenge did not go unanswered. 'Agricola' (James Anderson) took up his pen for a new series of practical articles, in which, dealing specifically

with the Highlands, he reasoned that since the area had little arable ground, the only answer must be either mining, manufactures or fishing, and concluded the most promising means of livelihood was the rearing of sheep and manufacture of woollen goods (XXV-XXVI).

Before leaving the subject of verbal warfare it may be noted that one of the most famous Scotsmen of the age was handled with a strange hostility by those who wrote for the Weekly Magazine. This was David Hume. To Ruddiman's correspondents his name was anathema because of his alleged atheism. With the examples of Locke and Newton before them, they could not conceive of a truly great philosopher who was not a Christian. When Adam Smith's account of his friend's last hours was published, they exploded with wrath. What right had Hume on his death-bed to read Lucian, to invent an imaginary dialogue between himself and Charon? At such a solemn time, why did he never mention the name of God? This was their verdict on him:-

...a sceptic, an atheist, a subverter of virtue, and therefore of the present happiness, and to us who

believe in a separate existence, of the eternal happiness of mankind, whatever his genius, eloquence or abilities may be supposed to have been.
(XXXVIII,261, cf.289-292, also XXIII, 196-197; XXXVI,139-141)

Naturally, since the inhabitants of Edinburgh regarded the Weekly as very much their own publication, a great deal of local colour is present. This element is not found so much in the contemporary Scots Magazine, which, as its title suggests, was committed to reflect a different outlook. In the latter half of the eighteenth century Edinburgh stood at a crossroads, architecturally and socially. There are signs in the Weekly pointing to the future - an architectural model of the new town on view, difficulties over the construction of the North Bridge (III,256, 288; XX,168-169) - but also a great deal recalling the old Edinburgh, more picturesque but more squalid, the cadies, the cry of "gardey loo", the inefficient City Guard (VI,82-84; XVIII,177-178). Not that the inhabitants looked at their city with uncritical sentimentality; some of the most picturesque references occur in articles demanding improvements. Thus a recommendation that Edinburgh should have public washing-places on the model of Glasgow Green

incidentally reveals what the current practice was. Old women carries the washing on their backs to places outside the city, such as the Water of Leith, where the linens were dipped in water in between being beaten with flat stones, and then hung on the hedges to dry, subject, of course, to the same dangers as they had been in Shakespeare's England (XLII,180-182).

The burghers took a keen interest in the education provided within their city, its High School, its University - especially the famous school of medicine:-

SIR,
The prosperity of the city of Edinburgh is intimately connected with the state of the university. Happily now, for many years, the university, supported by the ability of its professors, has been distinguished as the first seminary in Europe for medical education.

Writing at a time when the Chair of Medicine was vacant after the death of Professor John Gregory, this correspondent went on to make a novel suggestion, that the next professor should be chosen by the medical students:-

Of all the judges of this kind, the students of medicine in the university of Edinburgh are doubtless none the least important. Considered in themselves,

> they are a very respectable body. Numerous and independent, free from prejudice and partiality, many of them are of old standing in the university; some of them enjoy the highest honours which medicine confers, and not a few of them are full of ardour for their own improvement, and the honour of the university to which they belong.
> (XIX,289-290)

Another contributor, very far-sighted, demanded that accommodation and apparatus should be improved and augmented to match the eminence of those who lectured there, and asked that chairs be inaugurated in astronomy, architecture, agriculture, poetry, painting and music (XIX, 235-236, 262-264, 292-294). His recommendations have, of course, all come to pass, if not quite in the form originally suggested.

When an alteration was made in the class hours for teaching Greek and Latin, a letter appeared signed M.D., written with such authority that its author might well have been a University teacher (XXI,322-324). The Edinburgh curriculum was explained thus:-

> ...the following method of study naturally recommends itself to all such as chuse to have the compleat course of this university. The employment of the first year will be the public Latin and Greek classes: Of the second, the higher Latin and Greek, with the first mathematical class: Of the third, the logic, with the higher Greek and Latin again [i.e. the

second part of a two-year course] together with the second mathematical class: and thus the student will be properly qualified for the natural and moral philosophy, the rhetoric, natural history, &c and afterwards for entering to the college of divinity, or law, or medicine, whichsoever of these three he means to pursue.

Two of Edinburgh's well-known medical professors wrote letters to the Weekly Magazine. Dr. Andrew Duncan outlined his proposals for the Public Dispensary in Richmond Street, modelled on the London General Dispensary, to provide medical services free for the poor, and treat those cases for which admission to hospital was not necessary (3rd April 1777, XXXVI,44-48). It was for founding this Dispensary and the Lunatic Asylum at Morningside (the idea of which was suggested to him by the circumstances of Fergusson's death) that Duncan received the freedom of the city in 1808. Alexander Monro (Monro secundus)wrote a letter to clear his personal reputation from a rumour damaging both to himself and to the distiller who supplied him with spirits for preserving his anatomical preparations. He emphatically denied that when he himself had finished with the spirits, the distiller took them

back at half-price to sell or distil over again (4th November 1773, XXII,191-192).

People from other parts of Scotland would probably not have objected to reading so much about the capital. Such news was both local and national in its interest. Since Edinburgh was the metropolis, they felt it belonged to them. There was, however, one who humorously took exception to so much attention being paid to Edinburgh. In a droll article written "with a Highland accent," Alaster McAlaster argued that Inverness should be the capital, since it had everything, absolutely everything that could be desired. He concluded:-

> In short, Mr Ruttiman, we want nothing put a Magazine ant a Masquerute to pe incontestiply the first town in Scotlant.- Wishing you soon here then, Sir, with all your printing-tools.
> (ALASTER M'ALASTER, to the City of Etinburgh, wisheth Patience and Resignation to her approaching fate. XIX,270-271)

CHAPTER X THE END OF THE MAGAZINE

The first number of the Weekly Magazine is dated Thursday, 7th July 1768, and the last (Vol. LX No.xiii) Thursday, 24th June 1784. All significant irregularities of publication between these two dates will be noticed in this final chapter, as they are connected with the downfall of the Magazine.

From 1768 to 1774 the price of the Magazine was 2s.6d. per volume of thirteen weekly numbers.[1] D.S.M. Imrie states that with Volume XXV, begun on 30th June 1774, the price was raised to the following scale of charges:-

2s.8d. per quarter (when called for)

3s. per quarter (delivered in town)

3s.6d. per quarter (sent by post).[2]

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1 Laing MS. III 752 (Ruddiman's Account Book, 1768-1773).

2 Op. cit., p.xxiv. I have been unable to trace the source of this statement.

Prefixed to the National Library of Scotland's copy of the number for 16th May 1776 (Vol. XXXII No.viii) is a notice to the readers announcing a further price increase. I reproduce this notice in full, as it takes us behind the scenes for an interesting glimpse of what went on in Ruddiman's publishing-house:-

To the Readers of the Weekly Magazine

GENTLEMEN,

When we first undertook this Publication, we formed it on a Plan the most liberal we could devise, with respect either to Quantity, Quality, or Price. This Plan we have pursued with unremitting assiduity, and have even occasionally improved it in numberless instances, imagining that we could not gratify the public with too much Variety, and too much Entertainment, and that the Returns would amply compensate our Labour and Expence.

But though we have been highly favoured with the public Approbation, and encouraged by a very extensive Circulation, greatly owing to the generous assistance of our literary and ingenious Countrymen; yet eight years experience has convinced us, that the Profits arising from this Publication have not been adequate to the Attention, Trouble, and Expence unavoidably attending it.

But, as few of our Readers will be at pains to make any Calculation of the Expence, it is proper to give a short sketch of it. If you will please then to consider the Weekly Expence of setting so large a Quantity of Types, the heavy Press-Work, and of consequence the great consumpt of Paper, all which must be paid every Week; to these, if you will add the Charge of Clerks and Book-keeper, Paper for Packing, gratis Title and Index, and a variety of English Newspapers, Magazines &c together with a heavy, but necessory Premium to the Clerks of the General Post-Office for Circulation, besides the expence of a Rider going an annual Circuit through Scotland to

collect Payments, and the great losses sustained by bad Debtors;-When all these are computed, it is no wonder if we should be almost at a stand whether to proceed or stop - But,
As we are ever anxious to gratify Public Expectation, especially at this interesting time, we therefore propose and hereby intimate, that from and after the 20th of June, the period of the current or Thirty-second Volume, an additional Charge be made according to the following Plan, viz

MAGAZINES, when sent by Post - - 4s. per quarter
Sent through the Town and Suburbs 3s.4d.
And when called for - - - 3s.

When the reasons above given, and several that might be adduced, are duly considered by every intelligent Reader, we are hopeful that he will be so far from begrudging this small addition, that he will chearfully acquiesce; for we can with truth maintain, that, in respect both of matter and manner, it is still the cheapest Publication of its kind in Britain.- Nor need it be imagined, that our taking this step proceeds from any greedy or mercenary disposition in us, but merely from a view to save ourselves, and to have a reasonable return for our unremitting attention to please the Public, to whose service the whole of our time and labour shall be chearfully devoted by

GENTLEMEN,
Your most obedient SERVANTS,
EDINBURGH, May 16. 1776. WAL. and THO. RUDDIMAN.

The loyalty of the Weekly Magazine's readers appears, however, to have remained unshaken by this price increase, for in a note to readers and correspondents at the end of the first number in the ensuing volume the publishers' pleasure is expressed that the number of subscribers had remained unaffected (XXXIII,32).

We must, therefore, look elsewhere for the source of trouble.

In the middle of a retrospective review of the subjects covered in Volume XXXII there is a strangely enigmatic editorial expression of foreboding:- "But how long it shall be permitted us thus to instruct and amuse, is uncertain. The restraints on the liberty of the Press...are numerous and daily increasing" (20th June 1776, XXXII,416). In the absence of further evidence, it seems reasonable to assume Ruddiman was vaguely foretelling what did actually happen to his publication. It was laid down by the Stamp Act (Act 13° Geo. III for explaining Act 30° Geo. II)[1] that periodicals carrying news, if issued at intervals of a week or less, must be printed on stamped paper, thus paying the newspaper stamp duty. On 16th June 1777, in the Court of Exchequer, the publisher of the Weekly Magazine was found guilty of not/infringement of this Act, but judgment was/made retrospective.[2] Ruddiman himself reported the case thus in the Magazine:-

1 D.S.M. Imrie, op. cit., p.167.
2 W.J. Couper, The Edinburgh Periodical Press, II,119.

On Monday last came on to be tried, in the court of exchequer, a cause in which his majesty's advocate, on behalf of the crown, was plaintiff, and Walter Ruddiman, publisher of this paper, defendant. - The action was brought to try the question "Whether this Magazine was liable to the stamp duties imposed on newspapers by sundry acts of parliament, and particularly that of the 15th of George III." After examining several witnesses, and hearing very able and ingenious pleadings of counsel on both sides, the jury were inclosed, and, in about twenty-five minutes, returned their verdict for the plaintiff, by which this publication, if containing news for the future, is subjected to pay stamp duties. - As this was a new question, the lord advocate, with a candour and liberality of sentiment peculiar to himself, carried on and finished the prosecution with humanity and dignity, and, upon weighing the whole deliberately, the defendant has the consolation to reflect, that, whatever may be his future state, he has fallen, on this occasion, by the voice of one of the most respectable and intelligent juries that ever sat in that court - The counsel for the plaintiff were, the Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Wight and Mr. Maconnochie. For the defendant, Mr. David Rae, Mr. John Maclaurin, and Mr. Andrew Crosbie.

(19th June 1777, XXXVI,416)

One of the defending counsel, John Maclaurin, was, of course, the Magazine's former satirist on Johnson's Dictionary (cf. pp.76-77). Most conspicuous in the foregoing account is the editor's manly spirit and unrepining tone. On this he was soon afterwards complimented by David Loch, who took the opportunity to state, in tribute to the Weekly Magazine, "I think I may venture to say that it has been of more real

service, in promoting improvements and manufactures, than all the other periodical publications put together" (XXXVII,18). He was by no means the only one to offer sympathy at that time, for later in the same volume Ruddiman recorded, "We have received many condolatory and consolatory addresses from our worthy correspondents, for which we return our grateful acknowledgments." (XXXVII,72).

In Arnot's History of Edinburgh it is stated that the authorities' attention had been drawn to the alleged infringement by publishers of rival periodicals.[1] With reference to this statement, I have come across two relevant passages in the manuscript collections made by George Chalmers towards his published life of Thomas Ruddiman the grammarian.[2] The first is in a letter to Chalmers from Robert Walker, Watlington near(?) Setch by Stoke, Norfolk, 9th February 1791:-

Mr. Walter Ruddiman a nephew of old Thomas was the Editor of a weekly magazine containing a few essays, country news, lists of new books &c. Gilbert [Stuart] then presided over a review at Edinburgh and had a sister married to a person who had a department in the Stamp Office. In both views Walter's Magazine was an eyesore to the Stuart faction, and almost prohibited by a decree for stamp duties to which it was

1 Op. cit., pp.347-348.
2 Adv. MS. 21/1/12 (National Library of Scotland).

not formerly liable.

The context of this passage is an account of the enmity between the Ruddiman and ~~Stewart~~ Stuart families. Although a talented man, Dr. Gilbert Stuart also had a bad reputation,[1] The other passage is in a letter, similarly addressed, from George Paton, Custom House, Edinburgh, 24th December 1792:-

> Mr T R is eldest son of Walter Ruddiman a Printer here publisher of the late celebrated miscellaneous News Paper the Weekly Magazine, which was stopt in consequence of an Exchequer trial here and fataly put an end shortly afterwards to the Editor's Life, this prosecution was secretly instigated by John Robertson late Publisher of the Caledonian Mercury.

There is, however, apparent inaccuracy in this last account. Walter Ruddiman died exactly four years after the trial.

In view of such a set-back, it is not surprising that there was no issue of the Weekly Magazine on Thursday, 26th June 1777. However, the first number of Volume XXXVII came out the following week, on Thursday, 3rd July, reduced, without news, from thirty-two to twenty-four pages. But Ruddiman had not stopped printing news: from 3rd July 1777 the Weekly Magazine had a stable companion, the new

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1 See the article in DNB.

Ruddiman's Weekly Mercury, price 3d. Fourteen of its sixteen pages simply continued the news section of the Magazine, and the remaining space was devoted to advertisements, which do not seem to have been very successful (WM, XXXVII,312). In response to requests, the Mercury's day of publication was changed to Wednesday, from 13th August 1777 onwards. Not without interest is the evidence in its first number of Ruddiman's previous success with his Magazine venture: "It came out on proof, in the course of the Trial, that the circulation of the Weekly Magazine was nearly equal to that of all the Edinburgh Newspapers taken together."

It was not long before news came back to the Magazine, with the Parliamentary Debates (18th December 1777). But the editor was careful to keep on the right side of the law by inserting them only occasionally, usually with the excuse that their interest and importance demanded more space than was available in the Mercury. The Weekly Magazine's career continued uneventfully for about two years, with the day of publication altered from Thursday

to Wednesday at 31st December 1777, perhaps to keep it in line with the Mercury. There was a startling change, however, with the beginning of Volume XLVII (Thursday, 30th December 1779). It had the full complement of thirty-two pages, including a news section as of old. The day of publication was irregular; it might be any day of the week except Sunday. A glance at the sequence of dates shows what was happening - e.g. Tuesday, 1st February, Wednesday, 9th February, Thursday, 17th February etc. Ruddiman was trying to beat the law, yet sailing very close to the wind, by putting out his magazine every eighth day. The statute had not, apparently, made any provision for taxing papers published less frequently than once a week. Moreover, the old title, obviously no longer correct, had been changed to The Edinburgh Magazine or Literary Amusement. A note from the editor in this volume (p.36) attempted to persuade subscribers to buy both the Magazine and the Weekly Mercury, holding out the offer of "two complete papers every eight or nine days, at the low price of 7s. per quarter,

with a Magazine into the bargain." Although both publications carried news, he promised there would be very little overlapping. But the subterfuge did not go long undetected by the authorities. Before the next volume was complete, Ruddiman had to announce defeat and submission. Another court action was pending against him. "We never were advocates for American resistance, and we shall not imitate that unfortunate people, by risking all in so unequal a contest." (27th June 1780, XLVIII,360). A vestige of former practice was to remain, however, in a monthly summary of foreign affairs, and a virtue could even be made of necessity - "those who have only cursorily glanced over the transient and detached accounts of affairs in the Newspapers, may have an opportunity of perusing a connected relation of established facts, when divested of doubt and uncertainty." (XLIX,157). Although the publication was back on an even keel as a weekly periodical from Volume XLIX, its title remained The Edinburgh Magazine, until a final compromise was reached in The Edinburgh Weekly Magazine from Volume LVII. It

was found possible to keep the number of pages at thirty-two, mainly by augmenting the review section. A tabular analysis by pages of two copies selected at random, one issued before the court action, one after, shows how the adjustment was made:-

	Essays	Poetry	Reviews	History	Total
9th May 1776	15	2	3	12	32
19th Oct, 1780	18	2	12	-	32

But the battle was not quite over. In the first number of Volume LV (10th January 1782) the publisher announced his intention of printing news once a fortnight, and Parliamentary Debates in the intervening weeks. It seems strange he did not recognise that reports of Parliamentary proceedings could be classified as news. Retaliation followed, both against fortnightly news and against accounts of the transactions of the legislature. In the issue for 10th July 1783 (LVII,64) it is stated:-

According to the plan of this work, it was our intention, and we had made preparation, to insert in this Number the Historical Transactions for the last fortnight. But we have just received information from the Officers of Stamp-duties, that it is their fixed resolution to prosecute in Exchequer every Printer who shall publish News or Occurrences,

in any form whatever, upon unstamped paper, oftener than once a month - Tho' we know of no Act of Parliament which subjects the history of a fortnight to a stamp-duty any more than the history of a month, we were yet unwilling rashly to hazard a prosecution, without taking proper advice on the question, - the more especially, as a brother publisher, who was pursuing a plan similar to our own, has already been subpoena'd in Exchequer for the duties on his publication...We shall give an accurate register of the occurrences for the month, till we are assured we can with safety fulfil the terms we had proposed.

It will be noted that on this occasion the publisher did not offer complete submission; there is almost a suggestion he might take legal advice as to his position. By this time the publisher was, of course, Thomas Ruddiman, and the air of somewhat defiant protest, although justifiable, would not, I think, have been characteristic of his father. The other onslaught of the authorities, and the editor's final solution of the problem, is reported in the number for 25th December 1783 (LVIII,416):-

It was our intention, on the sitting of the present Session of Parliament, to have given in our Miscellany weekly, the Debates of both Houses, as fully as our limits would admit; and we accordingly inserted his Majesty's Speech, and the Debates on the Addresses in two successive numbers - The Officers of Stamp duties, however, have given us to understand, that they deem the article of Parliamentary Proceedings News and Intelligence, and have threatened us with a prosecution in Exchequer if we publish them in future

oftener than once a month - Unwilling, therefore, to provoke a contest with such powerful opponents, we have adopted the plan of dedicating every Fourth Number of the Magazine to the Proceedings of Parliament, and to Political and Historical Affairs.

Thus in the last two volumes (LIX, LX) there was a fairly drastic revision of the plan of the Magazine. Every fourth number was devoted entirely to Parliamentary and other news, and approximately doubled in size at the expense of reducing the amount of letter-press in the preceding three numbers.

According to Arnot's History of Edinburgh, sales of the Weekly Magazine were 3000 per week in the winter of 1776, but in 1779, after the trial, they fell to 1400, although supplemented by a figure of 1800-2000 for Ruddiman's Weekly Mercury. It remains to be asked whether the loss of the regular news section was the only cause of the Magazine's downfall. Most other historians of the Scottish periodical press, such as Imrie and Couper, have assumed that it was. Certainly, among such editorial statements as occur in the later volumes, the following cannot be ignored:-

This Miscellany, circumscribed as it has been in the historical department, is but ill-calculated to

satisfy a curiosity so ardent, or an anxiety so natural at the present momentous crisis: And it is from this circumstance the Publishers have not of late reaped an adequate recompence for the expense and labour attending the execution of this work. It is, therefore, not without much concern they find it necessary to discontinue the publication for the present.

This statement was made on 11th June 1782, when the end of Volume LVI had been reached. Publication was accordingly suspended for a year and resumed with the first number of Volume LVII on 3rd July 1783.

There is also the possibility that Thomas Ruddiman was less successful as a magazine proprietor than his father had been. His responsibilities did not, of course, begin with his father's death in 1781. As the change of imprint in the Weekly Magazine at Volume XVI shows, he joined his father as business partner in 1772. What his share was in editing the Magazine between 1772 and 1781 it is impossible to say. M.P. McDiarmid thinks he wrote the obituary of Fergusson (20th October 1774, XXVI,128), apparently on the evidence only that it formed the core of a biography included in editions of the poet's work undoubtedly printed by Thomas. It is difficult to come to a decision either way about this. Against the maturity of judgment manifest in the writing of

the obituary must be set the fact that Thomas Ruddiman was aged nineteen at the time. I have already raised the point that one of the editorial pronouncements made after 1781 was perhaps somewhat incautiously defiant (p.206), and G.H. Johnston suggests that in later years Thomas Ruddiman neglected his business.[1] One cannot go beyond mere conjecture, however, in this matter.

But another possible factor contributing to the Weekly Magazine's downfall does exist. In the issue for 10th January 1782 Thomas Ruddiman expressed regret for a falling-off in the number of original contributions, and tried to account for it:-

> Politics and news, rendered nearly interesting by the awful situation of the public concerns of this country, engross the general attention - And those who spent their leisure hours in literary studies, now speculate upon the probable fate of the nations at war. - Besides, modern writers are not content, like their predecessors, to give their transient lucubrations to the world by the usual and proper channel of a periodical paper, but must attract the public eye by a voluminous pamphlet, sold at an extravagant price. (LV,31-32)

Similar statements exist in two other places (I,420; LVI,448). Undoubtedly in its last stages the Magazine degenerated into a digest of abstracts like

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1 Op. cit., p.54.

what it had been in its earliest days. But it may be wondered whether the first of Ruddiman's reasons quoted above was correct, or merely a face-saving excuse. The second reason given can be corroborated by actual examples: for instance Boswell's 'Letter to the People of Scotland, on the present State of the Nation' (LIX,34-38, 57-62) was not an original contribution to the Magazine, only a reprint, having been already put out to the world by its author as a pamphlet.[1] I think it is possible to detect the editor's feeling of annoyance, round about 1782, that articles of Scottish interest were being contributed to English publications. If we consider an editorial note of introduction like this, "The following is the first of a series of Letters, addressed to the M[embe]rs of P[arliamen]t for S[cotlan]d. They are now publishing in an English paper, and are said to be the production of a literary character of the first distinction", it is not hard to imagine the editor's regret that he had not been entrusted with such a rallying-call

1 Boswell, Private Papers, XVI,17ff.

of Scottish nationalism as the letter in question shows the series to have been. My theory is perhaps confirmed by an unpublished letter in Edinburgh University Library, written by Thomas Ruddiman and addressed to James Cummyng:-

Dear Sir Edin May 14 1732.
In the European Mag. for April I see a letter from the Earl of Buchan to his Brother on Education. - I have heard that it was not his Lordship's Intention to publish this letter in Scotland. - But as it has appeared publicly in Scotland by the Channel of an English Publication, I think it would be inexcuseable in me as the Editor of a Scots Mag. to with hold so capital a Publication from my readers. His Letter, however, is only inserted in part in the Eur. Mag. and the Editors promise the Continuation next month - But as that is a long delay, /after giving one half of it/ - if I could procure a Copy of the Letter, I would insert it next week intire, beginning the Mag. with it. - Your intimacy with his Lop/ could easily procure a Copy, which would singularly oblige, (in the present Dearth of good Essays)-

Dear Sir,
Your very Humble Sevt.
Tho. Ruddiman [1]

Another letter addressed to Cummyng exists in the same manuscript collection, negotiating along similar lines for the publication of a life of James Barclay by Lord Hailes.[2] Thus, although the loss

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1 Laing MS. II,334/4. The request was successful (WM, LVI,193-195, 323-324).
2 Ib. II,334/3. Cf. WM, LVII,225-227. Another letter (II,82) asks Cummyng to convey Ruddiman's thanks to the Earl of Buchan for a memoir of Sir James Steuart Denham (cf. WM, I,261-262).

of the news section was probably the main cause of the Magazine's failure, it would appear also that in later years there was a lack of support from potential contributors.

I do not think that the Magazine ended suddenly. After the voluntary suspension, beginning in July 1782 it might never have started up again, but instead it continued through four more volumes. The final note to readers at the end of Volume LX is certainly terse and offers no explanation -

> The Publishers return their most grateful and sincere thanks for the many favours they have received; and must now inform their readers that the publication of this Magazine will be discontinued from this date.

- but the run-down was probably gradual. After all, sixty was a good round number for the last volume. The wonder is not that it came to an end, but that it had survived so long, supported as it was so largely by voluntary letters to the editor, and conducted almost single-handed, unlike the Scots Magazine, produced by a consortium of printers and booksellers, or the Edinburgh Magazine and Review, produced by 'a society of gentlemen.'

Among contemporary periodicals, it is with these two, the Scots Magazine and the Edinburgh Magazine and Review, that Ruddiman's journal invites the closest comparison. In its characteristic features and power to survive, it stands midway between them. Of the three, the Edinburgh Magazine and Review had the highest aspirations of becoming a literary organ (e.g. 'Literary News from England', October 1773, etc.). As its title suggested, great emphasis was placed on the review department, and from the beginning these pieces were genuine original reviews in the modern sense. Altogether, its career was bright and meteoric, with the personality of Dr. Gilbert Stuart, the editor, very much in evidence, as in the Prefaces to Volumes I, II, IV, where his characteristic arrogance, eventually fatal to the magazine's existence, cannot escape detection. It will be remembered that Ruddiman in a similar situation preferred to assume an air of modesty, e.g. by diverting his policy statements into the channel of semi-humorous verse. Of the three, Stuart's publication undoubtedly incurred the most hostility

(EMR, Prefaces to Vols. II, IV). The Preface to Volume IV seems to contain a direct retort to the Weekly Magazine's charge that the Edinburgh Magazine and Review was damning new books even before their publication (WM, XXVIII,193-196). Another echo of the Weekly Magazine may be seen in the Edinburgh Magazine and Review's feature, 'Notes to Correspondents', quite possibly copied from Ruddiman. By comparison, the later journal's 'Notes' appear consistently lenient to potential contributors, perhaps because of the desire to build up a good reputation quickly among the class of people interested in literary matters.

For Ruddiman, on the other hand, literature was only one of many ingredients, and not even the most important. His editorial presence always made itself felt - how could it have been otherwise, with his 'Notes to Correspondents' a regular feature? But his personality was less forceful than Stuart's, more cautious and unwilling to give offence. To this may be attributed in part the greater longevity of his journal. Where he failed most conspicuously was

in his attempt to provide a strong weekly news service. He could never really satisfy the keen public demand for 'hot' news so well as the tri-weekly newspapers, the Caledonian Mercury and Edinburgh Evening Courant, whose proprietors may well have eyed him with suspicion as a would-be competitor. And, again, it probably emerged that a month was a better period than a week at which to present retrospective accounts of current affairs. It was here that the monthly Scots Magazine scored: its news section was the feature for which it was especially prized and preserved.[1] When Ruddiman was forced by law to be content with monthly 'history', it was too late; he was merely poaching on the ground of the old-established periodical. Colourless the Scots Magazine certainly was, so colourless as to offend nobody. It suffered from the lack of a vigorous and consistently pursued editorial policy, soon giving up the attempt to produce even annual Volume Prefaces. Indeed, the last Preface of the opening sequence (XVI) was not an original, but a reprint of Hume's Essay on the Liberty of the Press.

1 Vide D.S.M.Imrie, op. cit.

Of the three, it was perhaps the Scots which at its inception gave the strongest promise of being a truly national publication, but in the event it was the Weekly which best lived up to the initial promise. The Scots tended to be overstocked with reprints, and although the Edinburgh Magazine and Review carried original articles by Scottish literati, such as Dr. Blacklock on classical education and Professor Richardson on Shakespeare,[1] these pieces were written in a broadly British or perhaps English tradition and did not bear the nationalistic stamp.

M.P. McDiarmid writes, "The debt of Scots poetry to the magazine which gave the occasion for the public appearance of Fergusson's verses is immeasurable, and has never been properly recognised."[2] The present study has been written in an attempt to meet the need. Some light is perhaps shed on the special relationship between Fergusson and the Ruddimans by an anecdote in Grosart's study of the poet:-

1 The authorship of many articles in the Edinburgh Magazine and Review is given by R. Kerr, Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Correspondence of William Smellie (Edin., 1811), I,401 ff.
2 Op. cit., I,55.

It is obligatory that I further preserve another little statement by Miss Ruddiman to myself, in reference to Mr. Robert's going to Johnny Dow's and Lucky Middlemist's and elsewhere oftener than Mr. Ruddiman could approve. 'His cheek,' said she, 'I have often heard my brother say, would redden through its paleness if but a hint of such meetings were thrown out, and on being remonstrated with, with the big tears trickling between his fingers as he held them over his face, he would sob, "Oh, Sir, anything to forget my poor mother and these aching fingers!"'[2]

Walter Ruddiman appears here almost in loco parentis, whereas Thomas, being a younger contemporary of the poet, might be expected to have experienced something like fellow-feeling. It is only fair to state that McDiarmid has cast doubt on the veracity of many of Grosart's anecdotes. Yet he himself pinces some emphasis on another passage from the nineteenth-century biographer:-

It must also be stated, on the authority of Miss Ruddiman, confirmed by the Ruddiman MSS. put into my hands, that...the Ruddimans were accustomed to hand to Fergusson regular payments for his poems as they appeared from week to week, and from 1771-2 the poet had a gift of two suits of clothes - one for week-days and one for Sundays.[1]

The way in which this story is told might indicate that it represents something unusual, and that normally contributors were not paid.

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1 Ib., p.103.

The picture of Walter Ruddiman the editor which emerges from this study is of one who upheld law, order and decency. His loyalty to the Establishment may well have been connected with a fear that opposition could only lead to disorder and anarchy. Much that C. Lennart Carlson has stated in the last chapter of his book on the Gentleman's Magazine[1] might be considered true also of the Weekly Magazine, comprehensiveness, mediocre English verse, a preponderance of scientific articles in the later stages. But the Scottish magazine cannot be said to have shared the Gentleman's general complacency and contentment with the status quo. The difference lies in the spirit of nationalism, initiated by Ruddiman himself, but manfully aided by prose correspondents such as Anderson and Loch, and by a first-rate poet to whom, as McDiarmid is at pains to show, Burns's debt was great. Ruddiman's brand of nationalism was not the sentimental or belligerent kind, but concerned with the peaceful economic betterment of his country in the face of social and geographical difficulties. He did not intend his miscellany to

1 C. Lennart Carlson, The First Magazine.

be primarily of a literary nature, and many of the articles it carried would, in a later age, have been found only in specialist journals of agriculture. If the element of nationalism were removed, the Weekly Magazine would not be found superior to other productions of its time, and would be no more than another eighteenth-century relic. "What was distinctive generally about the contents of the journal was the place given to problems and controversies in economics, politics and literature, and, of course, language, that were peculiarly Scots. It represented the sense of independent community and tradition, the desire not merely to reflect English life and letters, but to originate an individual Scots contribution to these fields."[1]

1 M.P. McDiarmid, op. cit., 1,35.

APPENDIX A Scottish booksellers who sold the Weekly Magazine

This list is taken from Laing MS. III 752 (Edinburgh University Library) which, in fact, is Ruddiman's Account Book, 1768-1773. Although the complete period is covered by entries in the book, it will be noted that accounts for the Weekly Magazine itself are almost entirely confined to the years 1770-1773. R.H. Carnie[1] suspects that the manuscript does not provide us with a complete list of the booksellers who handled the magazine, since the names of a number of well-known Edinburgh booksellers are missing. He considers, however, that it provides a useful indication of the magazine's wide circulation. One might add that an even wider circulation is suggested by the addresses of correspondents to the magazine (see Appendix B). No attempt has been made here to

1 Studies in Bibliography, XIV (1961), 81-96.

arrange the booksellers' names alphabetically: they are simply reproduced in the order of their appearance in the account book, so that, for example, all but one of the Edinburgh names are listed consecutively.

I have also appended, for each person named, the total sum owing to Ruddiman during the period of the account book, which will give a rough indication of the relative demand for the periodical in different areas. At this time the Magazine cost 2s.6d. per set or volume, 2d. per single number, with a discount to booksellers, four volumes being issued in a year. To go further and break down each account into sets and single numbers for short periods would introduce complications which are unnecessary for my present purpose. Unless otherwise stated, it may be assumed that each person named was simply a bookseller.

John Watson, Montrose (merchant)	1770-73	£16.12. 5½
James Meuros, Kilmarnock	1770-73	£27. 8. 9½
Daniel Baxter, Glasgow	1770-73	£22. 4. 7
John Todd, Arbroath	1770-72	£ 7.10. 3½

Robert Niccol, Dundee	1770-73	£19.10. 5
Patrick Mair, Falkirk	1770-71	£ 1.15. 0
Alexander Forsyth, Ayr	1770-73	£44. 1.10½
William Aitkine, Lanark	1770-72	£12. 2. 6
William Boyd, Dumfries	1770-73	£19. 5. 9
William Gray, Edinburgh	1771-72	£34.17. 2
Archibald Neill, Haddington	1771-72	£57. 8. 8
James Megget, Dalkeith	1771-73	£ 2. 1. 6
William Coke, Leith	1770-72	£34. 2. 2
James More, Dundee	1771	£26.11. 3
Alexander Adam, Forfar (merchant)	1771-72	£11.17. 6
John Menzies, Glasgow	1771-73	£15. 8. 1½
David Scott, Montrose	1771-72	£25.10. 6
James Young, Dunse	1771-73	£18. 5. 5½
Robert Mudie, Brechin	1771	£12. 5. 0
Patrick Bower, St. Andrews	1771-73	£ 6. 1. 3
David Mushett, Stirling	1771-72	£ 4. 2. 6
Charles Elliot, Edinburgh	1772	13. 0
William Gordon, "	1768-72	£ 6.17.10
William Miller, "	1770-72	£ 6.16. 4
James Brown, "	1769-72	£ 1. 8. 2
Mrs. Gair, "	1771-72	£ 1.14. 8

Charles Hunter, Edinburgh	1771-72	£24. 4. 4
Messrs Kincaid " and Creech,	1772	6
William Gibb, "	1768-71	£ 4.17. 8
John Wilson, "	1772	£ 7. 0. 0
William Drummond, "	1772	£ 2.13. 6
Charles Merriot, "	1770-72	£21. 6. 6
John Taylor, Berwick	1770-72	£10. 7. 6
William Phorson, "	1771-72	£ 4. 0. 9
John Wilson, Dunkeld	1771-72	£ 2.10. 0
James Duncan, Glasgow	1772	£ 2.13. 2
John Reid, Hamilton	1771-72	£ 3. 5. 0
William Anderson, Stirling	1772	£ 1.11.10
M'Lachlan and Chalmers, Dumfries	1772	£ 1. 0. 0
James Murray, Kirkudbright	1772	15. 0
William Cunningham, Haddington	1772	15. 0

APPENDIX B Signatures of correspondents in the Weekly Magazine

An attempt has been made to exclude from this list all signatures that appear under articles known to be reprints from other publications. Nevertheless, some doubtful cases remain. Articles appearing under the superscription 'To the Printer' are almost always reprints from other magazines, those beginning 'To the Publisher' sometimes raise doubts, while the only guarantee of certainty is provided by the prefixes 'To the Publisher of the Weekly Magazine' and 'For the Weekly Magazine'. The majority of correspondents used pseudonyms, most of which remain unidentified. To complicate matters, some contributors used more than one signature, and, conversely, two or more people have in certain instances written under the same signature. In all cases where the identity of a disguised author is given, I have named the source or authority. When a contributor has written several

articles, the date of the first only is given.

For those signatures consisting only of initials, I have departed from the practice of the standard reference book, Cushing's Initials and Pseudonyms, and indexed them for the sake of consistency under the first initial, not the last, since obviously in examples such as D.E.F. or X.Y.Z. the last letter does not represent a surname, and in those like A.B. one cannot be sure.

Abbreviations

C : Cushing, Initials and Pseudonyms

I : Imrie, Edinburgh Magazines 1739-1826

McD: McDiarmid, The Poems of Robert Fergusson

S : Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae

W : Williamson, Edinburgh Directories (1773-1784)

A.	23 July 1772
A. (Beaumont Banks)	23 December 1773
A. (Edinburgh)	16 November 1775
A. (Inverkeithing)	9 May 1780
A—	25 January 1770
A—— [1]	4 January 1776

1 Possibly the same as A.(Edinburgh).

A.A.	18 February 1773
A-A-	14 October 1773
A.B.	2 March 1769
A.B. (Angus-shire)	13 March 1776
A.B. (Bathgate)	13 August 1772
A.B. (Dumfries)	17 November 1774
A.B. (Edinburgh)	14 December 1769
A.B. (Greenock)	9 February 1775
A.B.C.	30 May 1771
A.B.C. (Edinburgh)	26 October 1775
A.B.C. (Glasgow)	1 April 1773
A.B.C.D.	17 August 1780
Abdel Melec Muli Omar (Banks of Forth)	30 June 1774
A.B. DYSART	11 May 1769
ABERNETHY-DRUMMOND, W.[1] (Edinburgh)	21 March1776
An Abhorrer of Suicide	28 December 1780
A.C.	13 July 1769
A.C. (Aberdeen)	30 March 1775
A.C. (Alloa)	25 August 1774
A.C. (Ayrshire)	22 August 1771 etc.

1 William Abernethy-Drummond, M.D., 1719?-1809, became Bishop of Edinburgh, 1787. (Dictionary of National Biography).

A.C- (Crieff)	16 November 1775
A-C- (Symington)	12 August 1773
ACADEMICUS (Aberdeen)	19 December 1776
ACADEMICUS (Banks of Clyde)[1]	27 July 1775 etc.
ACASTO	11 December 1783
ACCOLA (Annandale)	21 May 1772
ACOLUTHUS	1 July 1773
ADMINICULATOR	15 April 1773
An Admirer of Dominies	8 February 1776
An Admirer of the Fair Sex (East-Lothian)	1 April 1773
An Admirer of Public Spirit (Nithsdale)	5 November 1772
ADOLESCENS (Auchmithie)	5 January 1775
ADOLESCENS (Near Elgin)	22 March 1781 etc.
AEGON	4 December 1777
AENIGMA (Glasgow)	25 April 1776
A.G. (Edinburgh)	10 November 1774
A.G. (Fochabers)	24 October 1771
A.G. (K-n, Banffshire)	4 December 1777
A.G.P. (Banks of Spey)	4 January 1770
AGRICOLA[2]	28 February 1771 etc.

1 Rev. Aulay Macaulay, 1758-1819 (C).
2 James Anderson of Mounie (MS. note in Aberdeen University Library copy), i.e. James Anderson LL.D., 1739-1808 (DNB).

AGRICOLA Jun. (D-r)	18 June 1772
AGRICULTOR	29 March 1770
A-H-	15 January 1780
A.J. (Carron Park)	18 February 1778
A.K.[1]	30 May 1782
A.K. (P-n)	18 September 1777
A.K. (Rotterdam)	28 May 1772
ALATOMUS	22 October 1772
ALBAMET (Banffshire)	5 August 1773
ALBO NIGRO	24 April 1777
ALCIBIADES[2]	1 October 1773
ALCINUS	31 March 1779
ALETHEOPHILUS	18 August 1774 etc.
ALEXIS	27 June 1771
ALEXIS (Banffshire)	12 August 1778
ALEXIS (Banks of Tay)	29 February 1776
ALEXIS (Linton)	1 October 1772
ALIQUIS	2 April 1772
ALIQUIS (Banks of Cart)	8 June 1775
ALLEGRO	10 March 1779
ALL-N-BY, D.	9 February 1775

1 Alexander Kidd of Edinburgh? (McD I 40).
2 Same as Agricola q.v.? (C).

ALMIRA (Edinburgh)[1]	18 January 1776
ALPHONSO	19 May 1774
ALTER JUVENIS	29 October 1772
ALVAREZ	24 November 1768
A.M. (Dixon's Close, Edinburgh)[2]	4 May 1775
A.M. (Paisley)	11 February 1773
A.M.[3]	7 July 1768
AMADIS	29 May 1777
AMATOR	3 January 1771
AMATOR (Brachead, near Dunkeld)	5 October 1775
AMATOR (Edinburgh)	9 April 1772
AMATOR PATRIAE	21 February 1771
AMATOR VERITATIS (Forfar)	11 November 1778
AMELIA	15 March 1770
An American (Edinburgh)[4]	27 June 1771
AMERICANUS	30 May 1771 etc.
AMICUS	10 January 1771
AMICUS (Aberdeen)	20 January 1774
AMICUS (Fife)	24 March 1774
AMICUS (Glasgow)	8 October 1772

1 17 year old woman (internal evidence).
2 Alexander M'Dougal, writer ? (N).
3 May be Ruddiman himself (see pp. 12-13 ante).
4 Arthur Lee, M.D., LL.D., 1740-1792, educated at Edinburgh and London ? (C).

AMICUS CERTUS	18 January 1770
Amicus visi Canonicorum	25 November 1773
A.M. J.G. (Edinburgh)	11 November 1773
AMNICOLA	27 November 1783
AMNON (C-d)	3 September 1772
A.N. (Edinburgh)	7 April 1774
A.N. (Haddington)	10 June 1773
A-N, J-S (M-ll)	20 December 1770
ANALOGUS (Apud Caelurcam)	4 March 1773
ANANDIUS	27 October 1774
ANAXAGORAS	25 March 1773
ANDREW (Kilmarnock)	19 December 1776
An Anecdote Hunter (Anecdote-Hall)	19 October 1775
ANGLICANUS	14 March 1771
ANGLICUS (Edinburgh)	27 September 1770
ANNA	17 March 1774
ANONYMOUS	11 June 1772
ANONYMOUS (C-n-k)	4 April 1776
Another Burgher	21 January 1773
Another Friend to Merit (Dumfries)	8 October 1772
ANTE-MAGUS (Supra-Mare)	28 January 1773

ANTI-SIGNANUS (Edinburgh)	22 April 1773
ANTHROPOS	17 September 1772
ANTHROPOS(Arbroath)	3 June 1773
ANTI-ARMINIUS (Perth)	20 October 1768
ANTICIPATOR	4 April 1782
ANTI-DETRACTORIUS	21 February 1771
ANTI-DRACO (Hamilton)	9 January 1772
ANTI-FANATICUS	23 August 1770
ANTI-NECESSARIUS	18 April 1782
ANTI-PARASITE (Angus)	31 December 1777
ANTI-PARTY (Paisley)	25 May 1775
ANTI-POPULUS (East-Lothian)	11 May 1775
ANTI-PROFANUS (Edinburgh)	25 June 1774
ANTIQUARY (Edinburgh)	30 January 1772
ANTIQUUS	8 November 1781
ANTI-VALETUDINARIAN	18 August 1779
ANTI-VIXEN	11 November 1775
A-N-Y, C.	11 February 1775
A.P-	31 July 1777
APOLLONIUS	11 February 1775
APORUS	14 September 1780
AQUILO (Thurso)	25 February 1775 etc.

A.R.	17 February 1774
ARABELLA	11 January 1771
ARATOR	1 February 1781
ARCAS	28 January 1778
ARCHITYPOGRAPHUS (Dumfries)	21 January 1773
ARCTOPHYLAX (Edinburgh)[1]	28 July 1774
ARGENTON	6 October 1774
ARISTAEUS	26 July 1781
ARISTIDES (Edinburgh)[2]	23 January 1772
AR-L	8 September 1774
ARMIGER	13 September 1770
ARNOLD (Edinburgh)	28 October 1773
ARPHAXAD (Almondside)	25 August 1774
ARTEMIDORUS	11 March 1773
A.S. (Edinburgh)	31 March 1774
A.S. (Maiden-castle, Angus-shire)	9 January 1777
A.S. (Stockbridge)	4 June 1772
A-S (Stranraer)	23 January 1772
ASCANIUS	30 May 1771
A.S.O.P. (Edinburgh)	10 June 1778
A.T.	14 June 1770

1 Lord Hailes. Identified by R.H. Carnie, Studies in Bibliography, ix (1957).
2 Same as Agricola, q.v. ? (C).

A.T. (Haddington)	25 June 1771
A.T. (St. Andrews)	21 October 1773
ATTICUS	15 March 1770
ATTICUS (Edinburgh)	15 April 1779
ATTICUS (Bathgate)	6 January 1774
THE AUTHOR[1]	29 May 1777
AVONIANUS (From the Banks of A-n)	9 October 1777
A.W.	9 August 1770
A.W. (Beaumont Banks)	11 July 1782
A.Y.	22 March 1770
An AYRSHIRE SHAVER (Dundonald)	18 March 1773
A.Z.	8 August 1771
B.	1 February 1770
B. (Cramond)	14 December 1780
B. (Glasgow)	25 July 1776
B. (Perth)	25 September 1777
B. (Ross-shire)	28 January 1770
B- (Edinburgh)	11 April 1771
B.A.	23 June 1774
B-A-, FREDERICA (Edinburgh)	25 October 1781
A Bachelor	31 October 1771

1 Capt. J.K-, 1st Regiment of Foot (the Royals) - from internal evidence.

BAIOS	12 August 1773
BAIOS (Lanarkshire)	5 July 1780
BALAAM'S ASS	6 February 1772
BANQUO	15 October 1772
THE BARBER (North Berwick)	24 August 1775
BARNABAS	1 February 1776
A BATCHELOR	27 March 1777
BATCHELOR BLUFF (Edinburgh)	6 August 1772
B.B.[1]	21 May 1772
B.C. (Edinburgh)	10 February 1774
B.D. (East Lothian)	25 July 1771
B-D-	26 September 1776
B-E, J. (Cramond)	22 February 1781
BEATY, R.	13 January 1779
BELLAMOUR (Banks of Ale)	29 July 1778
BELLARIO	14 August 1777
BENEVOLENCE	19 April 1770
BENEVOLUS	25 July 1771
BENEVOLUS (Glasgow)	3 September 1772
BENEVOLUS (M-t-e)	30 October 1782
BETHUNE, JOHN (Rosskeen, Ross-shire)[2]	25 Feb. 1773

1 A young lady (internal evidence).
2 Rev. John Bethune, D.D., d. 1774 (S).

B.H.	31 August 1775
BIBLIOPOLA[1]	27 February 1772
BICKERSTAFF (Nestling Hall)	13 August 1772
BLACKADDER, THOMAS (Banks of Blackadder)	7 November 1776
BLACKLOCK, THOMAS (Edinburgh)[2]	8 April 1773 etc.
BLAIR, A.	30 April 1772 etc.
BLEAT, BALAAM	16 May 1782
BLUFF, EBENEZER (Banks of Forth)	6 October 1779
BLUNT, EBENEZER	25 August 1779
B.M. (Kyle)	1 November 1781
B-M- (Banks of Air)	22 August 1776
B-N	20 April 1775
B-N, A. (Angus-shire)	20 February 1777
B-N-SIS	27 June 1776
BOG-TROTTER	9 December 1773
BOMBSHELL, SAM (Edinburgh)	25 April 1771 etc.
BO-PEEP	29 May 1777
BORGUENSIS	10 November 1779
BOYD, JAMES (Edinburgh)[3]	25 April 1772
B-R	11 July 1776

1 A bookseller, selling the Weekly Magazine (internal evidence).
2 Rev. Thomas Blacklock, D.D., 1721-1791 (DNB).
3 Stabler, Canongate Head ? (W).

B-R, J.	2 May 1774
A BREAD-EATER (Berwick-upon-Tweed)	8 May 1777
BRIGANTIUS	19 November 1772
BRIGANTIUS (Near Sinclair's Bay)	17 April 1777
BRITANNICUS	5 April 1770
BRITANNICUS[1]	25 January 1781
A British officer	2 February 1775
THE BRITISH SPY	25 March 1773
A BRITON	4 October 1770
Britophilus	2 January 1772
BROMIUS (Edinburgh)	18 March 1773
BROTHER CYTHER	5 September 1776
Bruce, Miss, The Fife-woman's Daughter	22 August 1776
BRUTUS (Edinburgh)[2]	15 January 1784
BRUTUS (Dumfries)	9 April 1772
B.S.	11 May 1775
BUBO (Edinburgh)	21 October 1773
BUCEPHALUS (Edinburgh)	13 February 1773
BUCHAN (Kirkhill)[3]	23 May 1782

1 The Earl of Buchan (editorial evidence).
2 Henry Mackenzie ? (C). Letter to Lord North (reprint?).
3 The Earl of Buchan, but possibly reprint.

BUCKRAM (Edinburgh)	13 June 1776
A BURGHER (Edinburgh)	16 May 1776
BUTLER, PETER (Edinburgh)	19 March 1772
C.	19 October 1769 etc.
C. (Canongate)	20 June 1771
C. (Clydesdale)	5 December 1776
C. (Edinburgh)	15 May 1777
C. (Gl-nm-ck, Aberdeenshire)	30 March 1775
C. (Stirlingshire)	24 February 1774
C-	12 March 1772
C- (Ayrshire)	22 August 1771
C- (Banks of Forth)	22 June 1775
C- (Dundee)	31 March 1774
C- (Glasgow)	24 August 1775
C.A.	27 June 1771
C.B.A.	2 May 1776
CAIUS	6 January 1774
CAL-DERIUS	23 December 1778
THE CALEDONIAN SPY (Nicolson Street)	28 January 1773
CALEDONIUS	19 September 1776
CALEDONIUS (Ballongiach)	21 March 1776
CALEDONIUS (Glasgow)	30 October 1777

CALLACAGATHOPHILUS	7 November 1771
CALLIOPE (Glotta)	5 June 1777
CALVIN, JOHN	26 August 1773
Calvin, Timothy	27 October 1768
Camillus	1 June 1769
CANDID	30 June 1774
A CANDIDATE (From the Banks of Calder)	22 April 1773
CANDIDUS (Aberdeen)	7 May 1772
CANDIDUS (Angus)	26 May 1774
CANDIDUS (Edinburgh)	25 January 1770
CANDIDUS (Inverness)	14 January 1778
CANDIDUS: or All for the Best (Edinburgh)	27 June 1776
CANDIDUS AMATOR	18 July 1771
CAPNIO	22 July 1773
THE CAPTAIN'S BOY	31 May 1781
CARBONARIUS (Clydesdale)	26 January 1775
A CARDER	25 July 1776
CARGOT, JONATHAN	11 June 1772
CARIOLANUS	26 January 1775
CASSANDER	9 December 1778
Castalio (Ayrshire)	3 December 1772

CASTIGATOR FALSI	17 June 1773
CATO	21 July 1768
CATO alias CHRISTIE	2 January 1772
C.D.	8 July 1773
C-B, J-E	4 June 1772
C.C. (Dumfries)	6 August 1772
C.E. (S-m - C-t)	19 January 1775
CECILIA	16 August 1781
CELADON	25 August 1774
CELIA	4 August 1774
CELIA (Fifeshire)	25 May 1775
Censor	12 September 1771
CERBERUS (Glasgow)	25 December 1777
C.G. [1]	19 September 1776
C.G-[2]	16 April 1772
CHARACTERISTICUS	5 October 1776
CHARISTIDES	16 June 1772
The chearful society[3]	14 January 1778
CHIRURGUS (Edinburgh)	25 November 1775
CHLOE	25 October 1777

1 Cuthbert Gordon, Leith (internal evidence).
2 Cornforth Gilson ? (McD I 49).
3 Young ladies (internal evidence).

C-H-N, J.	2 November 1769
A CHRISTIAN	16 February 1775
CHRISTIAN, SARAH	23 December 1773
CHRISTIANA (Edinburgh)	15 October 1772
CHRISTIANUS	19 January 1775
CHRISTIANUS (Aberdeen)	28 May 1772
CHRISTIANUS (Dundee)	31 March 1774
CHRYSIOPHILUS (Edinburgh)	13 May 1773
C-IE, A- (Glasgow)	11 January 1781
CIMON[1]	6 August 1772
CINCINNATUS	21 January 1773
CINCINNATUS L.Q. (Dumfries)	4 February 1773
CINICOS	21 August 1777
CI.P. (T-)	22 April 1780
A CITIZEN	16 May 1776
A CITIZEN (D-)	13 March 1780
A CITIZEN (Edinburgh)	16 September 1773
A Citizen and Tradesman in Edinburgh	19 December 1776
A Citizen of Edinburgh	21 September 1775
CITRAGLOTTENSIS (Hamilton)	16 January 1772
CIVIS	29 March 1770

1 Possibly the same as Agricola q.v. (C).

CIVIS (Edinburgh)	6 February 1772
CIVIS (Parliament Close)	21 March 1771
C.J.	28 August 1783
C.K. (Aberdeen)	25 March 1778
C.K. (Montrose)[1]	5 November 1772 etc.
C.K. (Musselburgh)	25 August 1774
C.L.	27 August 1772
C.L. (Speyside)	27 April 1775
C.L-	15 August 1776
C-LL, J-S	22 August 1771
CLARINDA (East Nook of Fife)	21 November 1776
CLARK, JOHN (Edinburgh, Bristo Street)	20 September 1783
CLASSICUS	16 May 1771
CLAUDERO[2]	5 November 1772
CLAUDIO	20 November 1770
CLAUDIUS	7 January 1773
CLAUDIUS (From the Braes of Gowal)	15 August 1776
CLAYMORE (Braes of Lochaber)	11 April 1776
CLEANTHES	8 August 1771
CLEANTHES (Edinburgh)	6 August 1772

1 Charles Keith (McD. I 30).
2 James Wilson (McD. I 62).

CLEMENS	6 February 1776
CLEMENTINA	1 April 1784
CLEOBULUS	14 July 1774
CLEOMENES (Angus-shire)	31 August 1775
CLEON (Balchayock)	30 April 1772
CLEON (Banks of Avon)	8 July 1778 etc.
CLEON GLENCARSE	9 April 1772
CLEON (Perth)	14 May 1772
CLERICUS	21 March 1771
CLIO (Slit-mill)	24 June 1778
Clout Conscience, Christopher	25 June 1772
CLUTTERBUCK (Monomotapa)	20 July 1775
A CLYDESDALE-MAN	5 January 1775
C.M.	18 November 1773
C.N. (Forfar-County)	2 May 1776
C-N (Perth)	21 January 1773
C-NS, B.	26 October 1775
C....O	1 December 1768
A COBLER	2 January 1771
COLONUS (Lanark-County)	13 March 1777
Colvill, R. (Dysart)[1]	4 August 1774 etc.

1 Rev. Robert Colvill, d. 1788 (S).

COMMON SENSE (Edinburgh)	28 September 1780
COMMON-SENSE (Shire of Lanark)	3 March 1774
Common Understanding	20 October 1774
A Compleat Macaroni-Man (Pentland-Hills)	2 March 1775
Constant Reader (Edinburgh)	8 March 1781
Constant Readers[1]	28 January 1778
A Correspondent	15 August 1776
CORYDON	16 March 1775
COSMOPOLITE (Montrose)	4 April 1782
A COUNTRY DOMINIE	7 July 1779
A Country Shop-Keeper	21 December 1775
CRAB	8 July 1773
CREON[2]	5 March 1772
CRITICUS	28 August 1777
CRITO (Aberdeen)	14 October 1773
CRITO (Glasgow)	2 December 1773
CRITO JURIDICUS (Dumfries)	24 September 1772
CROMBIE, WILLIAM (Minister of Spott)	18 August 1774
CROTCHET (Aberdeen)	17 June 1778
CRUICKSHANK, JAS. (Berwick-upon-Tweed)[3]	26 March 1772

1 Young ladies.
2 Same person as Ultraglottensis.
3 A clergyman.

CRUMBIE, ANDREW (Cannon-Mills, near Edinburgh)	23 September 1773
C.S.	17 May 1770
C-S (Annandale)	10 September 1772
C-S-[1]	16 February 1775
C.S.C. (D-h)	19 November 1772
C.T.	20 February 1772
CULTOR (Nithsdale)	4 June 1772
CUMRIENSIS	9 October 1777
Cunningham, J.[2]	30 March 1769 etc.
CUNYNGHAM, ALEXANDER	21 March 1771
CURIOSUS	2 May 1771
C.W.	27 March 1777
CYLLUS	2 September 1773
D.	16 May 1771
D. (Edinburgh)	18 September 1777
D. (Meadows)	20 May 1778
D-	26 March 1772
D- (Cuckoo Castle)	20 November 1783
D- (Dunkeld)	21 December 1775
D- (Glasgow)	17 June 1773
D.A.	27 February 1772

1 Charles Salmon ? (McD. I 63).
2 John Cunningham, 1729-1773 (McD. I 66).

DACKRES, Junior, J. (Dackres-hall, West-Linton, Cumberland) — 11 June 1772

DAMOETAS — 13 November 1777

Damon (Fifeshire) — 27 April 1775

Damon Veridicus (Stormont) — 18 May 1775

DANOS — 1 July 1773

DAPHNIS (Banks of Dee) — 13 March 1777

DAPHNIS (Glasgow) — 15 July 1773

D.B. — 11 May 1769

D.B- — 20 March 1777

D.C. (Banks of the Leven) — 2 January 1777

D.C. (Edinburgh) — 28 March 1776 etc.

D-C- (Dunbarton) — 1 May 1777

D.D. (Edinburgh) — 25 May 1776

D-D — 5 September 1771

DECENS (Glasgow) — 25 January 1776

DECENCY — 10 September 1772

DECORUS — 5 January 1775

D.E.F. (East Lothian) — 25 January 1776

DELIA — 20 October 1779

DEMOCRITUS — 15 August 1771

DEMOCRITUS (Lanarkshire) — 17 March 1774

DEMOCRITUS (Perth)	4 January 1776
DEMOTIMUS	20 July 1780
DESKFORDIENSIS	7 October 1773
DETECTOR	27 August 1772
DETECTOR (Mid-Lothian)	5 October 1772
DETECTOR junior (Edinburgh)	26 August 1773
D.G.	5 August 1773
D.G. (Edinburgh)	19 January 1775
D.G. (Strathern)	7 September 1775
D.H.[1]	30 June 1779
DIOSCORIDES	3 October 1776
DISCIPULUS	24 October 1771
DISCIPULUS (Edinburgh)	8 October 1772
DISCIPULUS VETERANUS	23 November 1775
DISTRESS, DOROTHY (Mt. Pleasant)	31 October 1771
A distressed Parent	1 October 1772
A Divine	24 May 1770
D.L.[2]	23 April 1772
D.M.	4 January 1776
D.M. (Dundee)	24 April 1774
D-N, A. (Edinburgh)	19 January 1775

1 David Herd ? The subject is antiquarian.
2 David Loch q.v.

D-N, B.	9 November 1775
DODD, B.	1 June 1775
DOGMATICUS (Edinburgh)	24 June 1773
A DOMINE (Murrayshire)	25 January 1776
Domine of Auchinleck (Auchinleck)	26 December 1776
DOPPIO Ju.	11 March 1773
DOUGLAS, FRANCIS (Paisley)	29 October 1772
Dramaticus (Glasgow)	3 June 1773
THE DRUID	1 December 1774
D-S	16 November 1775
DUNCAN, ANDREW (Bristo-St.)[1]	3 April 1777
DUNDONALD (Culross Abbey)[3]	22 April 1784
DUPLICITY (Dumfries)	18 May 1772 etc.
E-	4 August 1774
E.E.E.	14 April 1774
E. ABERDEEN[2]	21 October 1773
EAREWEL (Edinburgh)	26 August 1773
EBORACENSIS	17 Febru ry 1779
E.C.	4 May 1775
ECCLESIASTICUS (Edinburgh)	14 November 1771
Edinburgiensis	3 June 1773

1 Physician, associated with the Edinburgh Dispensary.
2 Same as Agricola, qv. (C)
3 The Earl of Dundonald; but possibly reprint.

An Edinburgh Burgher	14 January 1773
EDWIN (Edinburgh)	24 July 1783
E.F.	8 August 1776
E.H.[1]	4 July 1776
E.J.	28 March 1771
E-J	26 May 1774
E-K-E, C. (Edinburgh)[2]	19 October 1775
ELIZA (Edinburgh)	1 October 1772
E.L.N.	22 September 1774
E.M. (B-r-h)	24 April 1777
An Eminent Physician	16 December 1778
E.M.T.	27 October 1774
Endymion (Edinburgh)	16 July 1772
AN ENEMY TO DUELLING	25 September 1783
An Enemy to Slavery (Edinburgh)	30 November 1769
An English Rider	23 April 1775
ENQUIRER	5 October 1780
Ens Rationis	31 October 1771
EPAMENONDAS	19 June 1777
EPAMINONDAS (Airshire)	28 August 1777
EPHAEBUS (Edinburgh)	8 May 1777

1 A woman (internal evidence).
2 Charles Erskine, Semple's Close, or Col. Charles Erskine, Campbell's Close, Cowgate ? (W).

EPHEBUS	10 July 1777
EPIPLEXICUS	6 August 1772
ERASMUS	30 September 1778
ERNESTUS	9 January 1777
E.S.	22 April 1773
E--S	2 June 1774
ESCULAPIUS (Dalkeith)	23 July 1772
ESKDALE TAM[1]	5 May 1779
E.S.L.	12 June 1777
THE ESSAYIST (Springfield, near Leith)	24 August 1775
ESYRP	24 November 1779
E.T. (G--n-k)	25 August 1774
ETHELINDA (Fifeshire)	29 October 1772
EUBULUS (Edinburgh)	2 July 1772
EUDOXUS	30 August 1781
EUGENIO (Chapel-street)	1 May 1780
EUGENIO (Haddington)	11 August 1774
EUGENIO (James's Court)	28 April 1774
EUGENIUS	17 September 1772
EUGNOMON	23 September 1773
EUMENES	3 November 1774

1 Thomas Telford (McD. I, 175).

EUMENES (Glenullin)	25 July 1771
EUPHEMIA	14 October 1773
EUPOLIS (Edinburgh)	19 June 1777
EUSEBES (Berwick-upon-Tweed)	4 July 1771
EUSEBIUS	25 July 1771
EUSEBIUS (Dundee)	11 January 1770
EUSEBIUS (Edinburgh)	6 February 1772
EVAGRIUS (Banks of Divoron)	9 September 1778
E-W-	17 August 1780
EWANICUS	9 October 1777
An Extensive Farmer (Edinburgh)	27 February 1772
E-Y	7 December 1775
F. (Banks of Ale)	12 August 1778
FABER AURARIUS (Parliament Square)	17 March 1779
FABIUS (Edinburgh)	1 October 1773
FABIUS (St. Andrews)	24 November 1774
FABRICIUS	7 May 1772
FAELIX MARITUS	26 September 1771
FAIRLOCK	4 June 1772 etc.
A FAIRY	8 April 1778
FALLAS	26 April 1770
FALSTAFF, JA.	18 June 1772

FANNY[1]	31 March 1774
FARLEY, W.	23 November 1775
A FARMER[2]	24 October 1771
A FARMER (Banks of Esk)	31 August 1775
A FARMER (Clydesdale)	7 July 1774
A FARMER (Dalkeith)	2 January 1772
A Farmer near Culross	11 November 1773
A FARMER (Paisley)	16 November 1775
A FARMER (Strathearn)	1 September 1779
A FATHER (Annandale)	13 February 1772
A FATHER (Edinburgh)	7 October 1773
F.D. (Abbot's Inch)	19 January 1775 etc.
FEARFUL	10 February 1774
FELIX BRITANNICUS	7 March 1771
THE FEMALE DRAPER	23 December 1773
FEMINA (Linton)	25 February 1773
FERGUSSON, R.[3]	16 May 1771 etc.
F.F.	27 January 1774
F.F. (Edinburgh)	25 August 1779
F.G.	11 July 1776
F-H, A. (Dumfries)	24 December 1772

1 Sister of Anna, q.v.
2 Probably the same as Agricola, q.v. (C.).
3 First signed contribution from Fergusson the poet.

F-H, THOMAS	15 April 1773
FIDELIO (K-1)	24 December 1772
FIDELIS	26 October 1775
FILIUS AESCULAPII (Edinburgh)	23 September 1773
F.K.	13 October 1774
F.L.	29 March 1780
FLAMINIUS	1 September 1779
FLAT, SIMON (K-k)	19 March 1772
FLAVIA	4 March 1773
FLAVIA (Eldon Hills)	8 July 1778
FLORA (Edinburgh)	23 February 1775 etc.
FLORELLA	14 October 1773
FLORIMOND (Fifeshire)	21 April 1774
FLORINDA	21 January 1773
FLORIO	4 March 1773
FLORIST	30 April 1772
FLORIZEL	28 June 1781
F-N, J. (Kerse of Falkirk)	30 June 1774
F-N, W. (Aberdeen)	3 September 1772
F.R.	19 October 1775
FRECK, NICHOLAS	27 October 1774
FREEBORN, JOHN (Yarmouth Road)	24 November 1774

A FREE BRITON	21 August 1777
A FREEHOLDER	23 January 1774
FREE-SPEECH (Carnwath)	26 May 1774
A FRESH WATER SAILOR	14 August 1783
Friendless, Maria	19 July 1770
FRIENDLY, FRANCES	24 October 1771
A Friend to the Clergy	14 October 1773
A Friend to the Company (East-Lothian)	20 August 1772
A Friend to the Constitution	28 March 1776
A Friend to Despised Truth	21 March 1776
A FRIEND TO DISCRETION (East-Lothian)	26 November 1772
A Friend to the Dumb (Edinburgh)	31 March 1774
A Friend to the Fair Sex	6 November 1777
A Friend to the Fisheries (Dunbar)	15 July 1778
A Friend to Government	17 January 1771
A Friend to Improvement	3 February 1774
A Friend to Improvements	23 February 1775
A FRIEND TO INJURED INNOCENCE	9 June 1774
A Friend to Kirk and Heritor	6 April 1775
A Friend to the Kirk of Scotland	15 July 1773

A Friend to the Ladies	4	March 1773
A Friend to the Ladies (Leader Water)	16	December 1778
A FRIEND to LEARNING, to INDUSTRY, and ARTS	13	May 1784
A Friend to Liberty (Aberdeen)[1]	26	December 1776
A Friend to Liberty (J-n)	26	January 1775
A Friend to Liberty and the Brave Corsicans	27	April 1775
A Friend to Mankind	3	December 1772
A Friend to Mankind (Path-head)	18	September 1777
A Friend to Manufacturers (Edinburgh)	30	June 1774
A Friend to Merit	1	October 1772
A Friend to Merit (Edinburgh)	16	December 1778
A Friend to Peace	10	August 1775
A Friend to Peace and Industry	27	March 1777
A Friend to the People (St. Mungo)	25	May 1775
A FRIEND TO THE POOR	26	May 1774
A Friend to the Public	31	March 1774
A Friend to the Public (Edinburgh)	14	Feb. 1771
A Friend to the Public Good (Lanarkshire)	24	December 1772

1 Mr. Anderson, Monks-hill, Aberdeenshire. Identified from Edinburgh Evening Courant for 4 January, 1777. Same person as AGRICOLA, q.v.

A Friend to the Reformation	25 November 1773
A Friend to Schoolmasters	5 November 1772
A Friend to Sincerity	1 May 1777
A Friend to Society	16 May 1771
A Friend to the Trade and Commerce of Scotland	7 January 1778
A FRIEND TO TRUTH (Dumfries)	9 January 1772
A Friend to Truth, and no Enemy to Merit (Dunbar)	30 December 1778
A Friend to the University of Edinburgh	1 April 1773
FRIGIDUS	24 February 1779
F.S.	28 July 1779
F-S, W. (Aberdeen)	24 September 1772
G.	28 March 1771
G-	25 January 1770
G- (Banks of Forth)	18 August 1776
G- (Edinburgh)	28 May 1772
G- (Glasgow)	25 May 1775
G- (A Student of Divinity)	4 November 1773
G- (Teviotdale)	1 October 1772
GABRIEL	30 April 1772
GADALDINUS, BELISARIUS (Berwick-upon-Tweed)	16 September 1773

A GARDINER	21 April 1779
GARDINER, GEORGE	25 October 1770
G.B.	9 February 1769
G-B-Y	11 November 1773
G.C.	15 April 1773
G.C. (Edinburgh)	4 October 1770
G.D. (Cuckoo Castle)	4 September 1783
G-E, DR. (Prestonpans)	17 October 1771
A GENEALOGIST	6 May 1778
GENTLE, JOSEPH	13 March 1780
GEOGRAPHICUS	14 January 1773
GERMANICUS[1]	22 August 1771
G.F.	12 May 1779
G.H.	6 January 1779
GIRNICO, HECTOR (Broughton)	3 June 1773
GIRNIGAMOS (North-Berwick)	4 August 1774
GLASGUENSIS	18 July 1771
GLOTTIANUS	28 December 1775
GLOTTIANUS (Banks of Clyde)	18 March 1773
G.M.[2]	27 October 1774
G.M. (Dumbarton)	27 February 1777

1 Same as AGRICOLA, q.v. (C.)
2 A farmer.

G.M. (Edinburgh)[1]	12 October 1775
G-N, JOHN (Edinburgh)	3 December 1772
GONELLA	15 July 1773
GOOD-MEANING, GELLIE	23 January 1777
GOODSTUFF, W. (Corbyhall)	28 April 1774
G.P.	3 May 1770
G.P. PHILO-POETES (Makerston, Banks of Tweed)[2]	25 April 1782
G.R. (Aberdeen)	8 October 1772
GRACCHUS	7 October 1773
GRAHAM, C.	19 May 1774
GRAHAM, G. (Gratenay)	28 March 1776
GRAHAM, NANY (Milltown o' Auchterarder)	25 November 1778
GRAMMATICUS	12 September 1771
GRAMPICOLA	4 November 1773
The GRAND CHAPLAIN (Edinburgh)	1 April 1773
GRASS, JOHN (Dumfries)	27 August 1772
GRATUS	27 July 1780
GRATUS (L-m-r)	9 October 1777
A Great Soul (Carnwath)	17 March 1774
G.S.	21 November 1771

1 Gilbert Martin, printer (?) (McD I 54).
2 A youth of seventeen.

G.S-	7 October 1773
G-S (Banks of Forth)	25 July 1776
G.********S	7 November 1771
G.T.	5 May 1774
G-T, J-S (Ross-shire)	1 July 1773 etc.
GUION, F.J.	5 December 1771 etc.
GULIELMUS	24 July 1774
G.W.	10 March 1774
G-W, W-M (Slipperfield)	17 December 1772
H. (Edinburgh)	25 March 1773
H-	21 October 1778
H- (Stirling)	24 March 1779
H.A.	7 April 1774
HADINAE (Port-seton)	25 March 1773
HAMLET (East-Lothian)	22 June 1775
HAMPDEN	2 December 1773
A HAND	2 November 1775
HANNIBAL	29 September 1779
A HAPPY HUSBAND (Edinburgh)[1]	14 October 1773
A H[a]t[e]r of Fr[au]d, and an Ad[mi]r[e]r of Imp[u]d[e]nce (North of the Tweed)	19 January 1775

1 It is suggested by T. Crawford, Burns, A Study of the Poems and Songs, that this might be J. Lapraik.

A Hater of Impudence, Pedantry and Affectation	23 February 1775
A HATER OF OLD CATS	30 December 1774
A HATER OF YOUNG CHEATS (Edinburgh)	16 February 1775
HAY, Wm. (Silvermills)	21 April 1774
H-C- (Banks of Peffer)	24 July 1777
H.E.	30 December 1774
A HEARER	18 November 1778
HEARTFREE (Canongate)	21 May 1772
A HEBRIDIAN	14 January 1778
A HECKLER	9 April 1772
HELENUS	3 June 1778
HENRY, ROBERT[1]	2 December 1773
HERALD (Edinburgh)	5 April 1777
An HERITOR (Edinburgh)	25 March 1773
HERMES	29 April 1773
HER NAINSEL	9 August 1770
A HERRING FISHER	29 July 1778
HERRIOT, JOHN (Ladykirk)	29 August 1776
H.G.	2 August 1770
H.G. (Edinburgh)	21 September 1775

1 Rev. Robert Henry, Edinburgh, 1718-1790 (S).

H-G-	27 March 1777
H.H.	5 January 1769
H.H. (Newcastle)	22 June 1775
H-H, J., G.B. and a whole Session (Eyemouth)	15 August 1776
A Highland Farmer (Fort-William)	9 October 1777
A Highland Patriot	16 June 1774
HILARIO	21 May 1772
HILLARIO (Edinburgh)	4 June 1772
HISTORICUS	14 August 1777
HISTORICUS (Airshire)	25 September 1777
HISTORICUS (Spey-side)	1 July 1773
HISTORICUS ALTER	18 June 1774
H. JUVENIS	4 May 1769
H.K.	13 October 1768
H.L.	13 August 1772
H-M- (Banks of Calder)	19 May 1774 etc.
H-N (Hamilton)	5 March 1772
H-N, J. (A-s-d)	22 September 1779
HOLDEN, JOHN (Holden Hall, near Dundee)[1]	14 December 1780
HOMO	13 March 1780

1 A land surveyor (internal evidence).

Homo sum	29 October 1772
HONESTA (Fifeshire)	1 October 1773
AN HONEST MAN	~~12 January~~ 16 March 1769
HONESTUS (Banks of Tweed)	19 March 1772
HONESTUS (N. Britain)	9 January 1772
HOOD, ROBIN	6 May 1773
HORATIO	6 February 1772
HORATIO (Edinburgh)	23 April 1773
HORATIUS	30 March 1775
H.S. (Tweedside)	3 October 1771
H.S-l[1]	7 July 1774
HUGO (Edinburgh)[2]	3 April 1777
HUMANITAS (Dunse)	4 August 1774
HUMANUS	31 May 1770 etc.
HUMANUS (Edinburgh)	26 October 1775
A HUSBAND (Dumfries)	30 January 1772
HUSBANDMAN	28 January 1778
HYLENOUS	17 July 1777
HYMEN	6 May 1773
HYPODIDASCALOS PAROCHIALIS (K-)	1 October 1772

1 Houston Steuart Nicholson (?) (McD. 1, 48).
2 Hugo Arnot, advocate, author of a History of Edinburgh (?) The article is on the progress of society.

IDEM	8 May 1777
IDLE, T.	20 December 1770
I.O. (Edinburgh)[1]	11 July 1776
IGNATIUS	17 March 1779
IGNORAMUS (Bristo-street)	6 August 1772
IGNOTUS	1 October 1773
I.I.	11 December 1783
ILLITERATUS (West-Lothian)	2 March 1775
I.M.	16 January 1772
IMBISAN (Edinburgh)	21 January 1771
Impartial	22 August 1771
IMPARTIALIS	25 January 1770
AN IMPARTIAL OBSERVER	23 March 1775
IMPARTIALIST	10 April 1777
An Impartial Scotsman	14 November 1776
INCOGNITUS	22 April 1778
An Independent BURGESS	13 October 1774
INDEX (East-Lothian)	3 November 1774
INDIFFERENT, THOMAS	20 August 1772
INFELIX	4 January 1770
An Inhabitant of Edinburgh	6 May 1773
INNES, WILL. (Sandside) [Caithness]	17 November 1774

1 Isaac Grant, W.S., Brown's Square. (W).

INTERPRES	8 March 1770
INVESTIGATOR	11 February 1773
IRENAEUS	9 September 1773
IRONICUS (Edinburgh)	16 July 1772
IRONICUS (Banks of Clyde)	18 November 1778
ISABELLA[1]	27 July 1780
ISABELLA (Edinburgh)	2 April 1772
J.	19 May 1779
J- (Dumbarton)	19 October 1775
J.A.	8 November 1770 etc.
J.A. (Dundee)	14 April 1774
J.A. (V-e)	8 July 1778
JACOBUS (C---d)	30 December 1779
JACOBUS (Fifeshire)	13 July 1775
JACOBUS DISCIPULUS	22 July 1778
JANACKS	21 December 1775
JAPHET	16 June 1774
J.B.	17 November 1768
J.B. (Banks of the Esk)	27 January 1779
J.B. (Edinburgh)	13 July 1769
J.B. (Glasgow)	25 April 1782
J.B- (C-mill)	23 June 1774

1 A teenage girl.

J-B-[1]	15 March 1781
J.C.	30 December 1774
J.C. (Edinburgh)	27 October 1772
J.C. (Berwick-upon-Tweed)[2]	2 January 1772
J.D.	18 February 1773
J.D. (Langholm)	9 February 1780
J.D. (A Woolen Manufacturer)	5 May 1774
J.D-	22 May 1778
J.E.	15 October 1772
JESSAMINDA (Cultmalundie)	6 July 1775
JESSAMINE	14 April 1774
JESSY	24 April 1777
J.F.	26 August 1773
J.F- (Airshire)	18 August 1774
J-F- (Braes of Whitewater)	21 November 1776
J.G.	13 July 1769
J.G. (Ayr)	9 December 1773
J.G. (Edinburgh)	19 November 1772
J.G. (Kirkintilloch)	4 November 1773
J.G. (West-Galloway)	13 March 1777
J.G- (Alloa)	27 August 1772

1 John Brown, painter (?) (McD. I, 55).
2 A clergyman (internal evidence).

J.G.S.P.C.M.A.	3 May 1781
J.H.	12 January 1769 etc.
J.H. (Edinburgh)	6 September 1770 etc.
J.H. (G-de)[1]	6 May 1778
J.H. (Righead)	7 April 1774
J.H-	29 September 1779
J.I.	14 December 1775
J.J.	14 July 1774
J.L.	28 September 1775
J.L. (Edinburgh)	19 August 1773
J.M.[2]	28 October 1778
J.M. (Banks of Add)	4 March 1778
J.M. (Edinburgh)[2]	25 March 1773
J.M. (Glasgow)	6 August 1772
J.M. (Path-head)	24 June 1778
J.M-	19 October 1769
J.M- (Tinwald-Manse)[3]	25 February 1773
J-M-	7 January 1773
J-M- (Dumfries)[4]	13 July 1780
J-M- (Kilmarnock)	19 June 1777

1 John Hoy, Gattonside, near Melrose - identified from the number for 25 April 1782.
2 J. M'Intyre, teacher of languages, Cowgate (ed.).
3 At XIX,337 this is said not to be by the incumbent at Tinwald (Rev. John Marshall).
4 John Mayne, poet, author of The Siller Gun.

J.M.C. (Banks of Bodotria)	24 August 1780 etc.
J-N, W-R[1]	21 September 1775 etc.
J.O.	22 October 1772
J-O- (Banks of Leven)	2 November 1780
JOCOSUS	6 November 1773
J.P.	15 April 1778
J.P. (Moffat)	3 October 1771
J.P.S.	31 October 1771 etc.
J.R.	14 November 1776
J.R. (Hamilton)	17 September 1772
J***R*** (D-)	27 January 1774
J.R.L.	30 January 1772
J.R.T. (Dundee)	26 November 1772
J.S. (Aberdeen)[2]	8 August 1771 etc.
J.S. (Berwick)[3]	1 March 1770 etc.
J-S (Hawick)	12 November 1772
J-S, S.	12 February 1784
J.T.	25 August 1768
J.T. (Dundee)	3 December 1772
J.T.[4]	7 June 1770

1 Walter Johnson, teacher of languages and mathematics, College Wynd, Edin. (from issue of 2 Nov. 1775).
2 John Skinner, author of Tullochgorum (?)
3 John Scott, farmer (Grosart, Robert Fergusson, p.98).
4 A lady.

J.T.B. (J. TRUE BRITON, Merchant, Edinburgh)	10 January 1771
JUNIO	9 October 1777
JUNIOR	1 November 1770
JUNIUS (James's-Court)	18 March 1773
JUNIUS CIMBRICUS	10 April 1777
JURIDICUS	31 January 1782
JUSTUS	24 August 1775
JUVENIS[1]	31 January 1782
JUVENIS (Angus-shire)	27 June 1776
JUVENIS (Ayrshire)	16 September 1778
JUVENIS (Castle Grant)[2]	11 January 1781
JUVENIS (Deskford)	25 November 1773
JUVENIS (Dumfries)	23 July 1772
JUVENIS (Edinburgh)	20 December 1770
JUVENIS (Montrose)	23 July 1772
JUVENIS (W-k)	25 September 1777
J.V.	23 July 1772
J.W.	1 March 1770
J.W. (Hawick)	21 April 1774
J.W. Jun.[3]	12 April 1770 etc.

1 Under the age of twenty, university education, known as 'Charles' - internal evidence.
2 A previous correspondent, perhaps same as JUVENIS (Deskford).
3 James Wilson (?) (McD I,62).

J.W. (Paisley)	5 December 1776
J-W- (Edinburgh)	26 May 1779
J-W-[R] (Kyle)	18 November 1778 etc.
J.Y.	30 July 1772
J-Y, R-T (Banks of Forth)	13 January 1774
K.	19 April 1770
K- (Annandale)	16 January 1772
KETTLE, CATHARINE	26 April 1770
KHRONE, ULRICK (Prince's St.)	7 November 1776
KNAVE of CLUBS	5 June 1777
KNOX, JOHN	5 May 1779
KNOXIUS (Fife)	25 April 1776
L.	26 October 1769
L. (Edinburgh)	26 March 1772
L-	5 March 1772
L- (Aberdeen)	8 October 1772
L- (Edinburgh)	28 July 1774
L.A. (Edinburgh)	16 December 1773
A Lady	1 August 1771
Lady -	13 June 1776
LAICUS	23 November 1775
LAICUS (Edinburgh)	23 September 1773

LAMPRIDIUS	2 March 1775
LAVINIA	12 August 1773
A LAYMAN (Edinburgh)	13 February 1772 etc.
THE LAYMAN (Glasgow)	28 October 1773
L.B.	13 March 1776
L.D. (Strathearn)	29 May 1777
L-E, RICH. (Edinburgh)[1]	7 May 1772
A LEARNER	6 February 1777
LECTOR (Edinburgh)	13 April 1775
L-H- (Edinburgh)[2]	18 August 1774
A Linen Draper	15 August 1771
L.L.	30 December 1774
L.M. (Orkney)	9 May 1780
LOCH, D. (Leith)[3]	17 March 1774 etc.
LOCHARBEN (Ayr)	12 November 1772
LOGOPHILOS	29 April 1773
A Lover of Both Town and Country	24 April 1777
A Lover of the Fine Arts	17 April 1777
A Lover of the Human Race	27 April 1775
A LOVER OF JUSTICE	3 May 1770
A Lover of Practical Philosophy (Montrose)	3 August 1780

1 Richard Lake, wine merchant, Cowgate head (W).
2 Leas Handcock, weaver, Dickson's Close (?) (W).
3 David Loch.

A Lover of Poetry (Glasgow)	14 April 1774
A Lover of Scots Manufactures	1 February 1776
A Lover of the Theatre (Edinburgh)	8 February 1776
A Lover of Truth and Sincerity (East-Lothian)[1]	31 July 1777
A L[OVE]R of M[ATRIMON]Y (South of the Tweed)	12 January 1775
LUCINDA	11 August 1774
LUCIUS	10 December 1772
LUDOVICUS	24 February 1779
LUMPKIN, TONY (Edinburgh)	5 May 1774
L.W.	29 July 1773
LYCIDAS	14 March 1776
LYCIDAS (Dumbartonshire)	21 August 1777
LYCURGUS	13 August 1772
LYSIAS (Edinburgh)	26 August 1773 etc.
M. (Banks of Forth)	9 April 1772
M-	29 April 1773
M- (Banks of Ayr)	24 January 1780
M- (Banks of Tay)	26 December 1776
M- (East Lothian)	15 October 1772 etc.
M- (Edinburgh)	6 February 1772

1 'A woman past the meridian.'

M- (Forfar)	15 September 1774
M- (Glasgow)	28 April 1774
M- (I-re)	30 January 1772 etc.
M- (Isle of Skye)	1 August 1776
M- (St. Birnam's Walk)	8 November 1770
M- (Zetland)	2 September 1773
M'-, P.	14 September 1775
M'ALASTER, ALASTER (Inverness)	25 February 1773
A MACARONI (Berwick-upon-Tweed)	1 October 1773
M'CALMAN, HUGH (Lochow-Side)	24 May 1770
M'C-N, J. (Crossmichael)	18 March 1773
M'D., A.	4 August 1779
M'D-D, A.	17 September 1772
M'-FF (Dundee)	17 February 1774
M'INTARBUCK, JOHN	25 January 1776
M'K., A. (Tore in Ross-shire)	20 April 1775
M'K-, H. (Dingwall)	11 April 1776
M'K-Y, W. (Aberdeen)	17 September 1772
M'KLEARY, SANNY (Glentroi)	11 November 1778
M'L-D, N. (Savannah, in Georgia)	4 August 1774
M'MILLAN, ROB. (Barwhinnock)	2 June 1774
M'M-N, RO. (Berwick)	3 June 1773

M'M-NE, J-B (Kirkudbright)	10 January 1771
M'-N, J. (Edinburgh)	11 January 1781
MACSARCASM, SIR ARCHY	25 July 1776
A Man of Business	25 July 1776
A MANUFACTURER	14 March 1776
A Man without a Tail	17 March 1774
MARBIGOT, MARTIN	21 December 1780
MARCELLUS (Clydeside)	30 April 1772
MARCUS	2 April 1772
MARIA	24 June 1778
MARIA (Glen-kens)	28 October 1778
MARTIALIS (Dundee)	10 March 1774
MASSON, AR. (Old Assembly Close, Edinburgh)[1]	21 May 1771
MASON, GREGORY (Shetland)	7 March 1771
A MASTER OF ARTS (Edinburgh)	25 January 1776
MATHO	28 October 1773
MATILDA	25 November 1773
A MATRON (Edinburgh)	5 October 1775
MAVER, JOHN (Dundee)	13 June 1776
M.C. (D-r)	11 July 1776
M.D.	9 September 1773

1 Arthur Masson, M.A., Teacher of English (ed.).

M.E.[1]	7 February 1771
MEAGRE	16 January 1772
MEANWELL (Edinburgh)	29 November 1770 etc.
MEANWELL (Leith)	15 December 1774
MEANWELL, MICHAEL	14 January 1773 etc.
MEANWELL, T. (Edinburgh)	7 March 1782
MEDICUS	26 March 1772
MEDIOCRIS	4 July 1776
MEDIOCRITY	25 June 1772
MEIN, JOCKY (Dumfries)[2]	14 April 1779 etc.
MELDRUM, ROBT.	22 December 1774
MELCHISIDEK (Edinburgh)	16 September 1773
MELROSENSIS	29 May 1777
A Member of the Consistent Society (Aberdeen)	29 October 1772
A Member of the Harmonic Society	9 May 1771
A Member of the Sentimental Society (Aberdeen)	29 October 1772
MENENIUS	25 December 1777
MENTOR	11 April 1770 etc.
MERCATOR (Aberdeen)[3]	25 February 1778
MERCATOR (Craggy-barns-top, near Dunkeld)	16 November 1775

1 A lady.
2 John Mayne (McD I,175).
3 Same as AGRICOLA, q.v. (C).

MERCATOR (Glasgow)	21 March 1782
MERCATOR (Inverness)	3 July 1780
MERCATOR (Prestonpans)	31 October 1771
A MERCHANT (Clydesdale)	11 September 1777
A MERCHANT (Glasgow)	3 October 1776
MERCURY	5 June 1777
MESSALA	22 March 1770
M.F.	18 April 1771
MILES	25 September 1783
MILITARIUS	13 November 1777
A Minister of the Church of Scotland	14 September 1775
A Minister of the Church of Scotland (Clydesdale)	27 January 1779
MINYUS	1 July 1773
MIRA	30 May 1776
MIRANDA (Teviotdale)	26 May 1774
MISODAEMONIUS	27 October 1779
MISO-EMPIRICUS	24 July 1777
MISOPHRUS	7 July 1779
MISOPSEUDOS	23 March 1775
M.K.	16 June 1774
M.M-	22 December 1774

M-M, R.	16 January 1772
M-N, J- (Eyemouth)	16 July 1772
M-N, J- (Forteviot)	17 April 1777
M-N, J- (Glasgow)[1]	29 January 1784
M-NS, Miss K-Y	4 April 1776
M.O.	15 April 1773
MODERATUS	26 November 1772
MODERATUS (Edinburgh)	2 November 1775
A MODERN DRUID	8 July 1773
MODESTA	16 April 1772
MODESTUS (Edinburgh)	26 August 1773
Moir J.	4 April 1771
MONITOR	15 July 1773
The MONITOR	8 September 1774
MONRO, ALEX. (Edinburgh)[2]	4 November 1773
MONTANUS	10 July 1777
MONTICOLA (Highlands of Scotland)	26 June 1776
MOONSHINE, MAT.	19 January 1772
MORALIS	18 June 1772
MORALIST	19 May 1779
A MORALIST	30 November 1775

1 John Mayne (McD I,175).
2 Monro 'secundus', Professor of Anatomy (internal evidence).

THE MORALIST (Berwick-upon-Tweed)	14 October 1773
MORAVIENSIS	29 July 1773
MORDAX, JOHANNES	17 November 1774
MORISON, J. (Dunrobin)[1]	10 June 1778
MOURNER, A	8 June 1775
MOWAT, ANDREW (Stromness)	5 January 1775
M.P.	16 May 1777
M.R.	9 June 1779
M.R. DRAMATICUS	16 June 1779
M-S	17 August 1775
MUNRO, ANDREW (Kirkwall)	30 May 1776
MURDLEM	30 June 1774
MUSAEUS (Caithness)[1]	1 October 1772 etc.
MUSARUM AMICUS	8 September 1774
MUSICIANUS (Cowgate St.)	28 July 1774
MUSIS AMICUS (Banks of Add)	7 August 1777
MUSIS AMICUS (Inverkeithing)	16 May 1776
MUTE, MATTHEW	27 October 1774
M.W.	11 July 1771
M-Y (Edinburgh)	25 September 1777 etc.
MYLNE, JAMES (Loch-hill, near Haddington)	9 August 1781

1 John Morrison, D.D., 1749-98. Poet and minister at Canisbay, Caithness (C).

MYRA	4 February 1773
MYRO	8 October 1772
MYRTILLA	10 December 1772
MYSELF	11 October 1770
N.	14 July 1774
N-	20 July 1780
N.A. (Thurso)	27 February 1772
N. and A. (Musselburgh)	1 April 1773
NATATOR (Edinburgh)	15 August 1776
A NATURALIST (Lanark)	3 February 1774
NAUTA (From the Coast of Carrick)	8 September 1774
Navigator	21 February 1771
N.B.	1 February 1776
N.B.[1]	13 March 1777
N.D. (Dunkeld)	6 June 1776
N-e	24 October 1771
NEANIAS	7 June 1772
NEANIAS (Edinburgh)	23 July 1772
NEOPHYTUS (Edinburgh)	19 May 1774
NEPHALIUS	4 January 1776
NEPHOUSCOPOS (Edinburgh)	19 October 1775

1 Same as A Young Farmer.

Ne quid nimis	2 May 1776
NESTOR (Dumfries)	24 September 1772
NETTLES, JENNY	1 October 1772
NEUTRAL, ROBERT	19 March 1772
A new Correspondent	25 March 1773
A New Reader	31 March 1779
N.G.	2 May 1776
NICATOR (Edinburgh)	17 March 1774
NICOLA (C-d-e)	18 March 1773
NICOTIANUS (Eildon Hills)[1]	23 October 1783
NISBET, CHA. (Montrose)[2]	20 July 1775
NITHIANUS (Dumfries-County)	14 January 1773 etc.
N-M- (Leith)[3]	7 October 1773
No able Arithmetician	31 March 1779
NO ANTIQUARIAN (Almond-mouth)	13 March 1780
NOBODY	12 December 1771
No Critic	17 September 1772
No Friend to Emigration	14 April 1774
NO GALLANT (Banks of Tay)	13 March 1780
No Manufacturer	21 January 1778
NOMENCLATOR	14 April 1774

1 A young correspondent.
2 Rev. Charles Nisbet, 1736-1804 (S).
3 Norman M'Leod, compt. clerk, Custom-house, Leith (?) (W).

NO MILLER	31 October 1776
NO MISER	17 December 1772
NO PHILOSOPHER	14 February 1782
NO PLANNER (R-1)	4 May 1775
A NORLAND (Caithness)	13 October 1774
A NORLAND (Edinburgh)	2 May 1771
A NORLAND (Grampians)	11 April 1771
A NORTH BRITON	26 April 1770
NO SATIRIST (Lomond Hills, Fifeshire)	1 May 1780
NO SCALIGER but a plain Hebridian (Confines of Glenco)	24 March 1779
No Shopkeeper	15 March 1770
A Notary	3 August 1775
A Noted Projector	21 December 1775
NO TYRANT (Edinburgh)	13 February 1772
NOVUS (London)	20 August 1772
N.P.	25 August 1779
N.R.A.	27 June 1771
N-T-	30 November 1775
O.	6 June 1771
O-	30 April 1772
O- (Ochil-Hills)	8 July 1773
AN OBSCURE PATRIOT	19 September 1771

OBSERVATOR	27 June 1771
OBSERVATOR (Dunfermline)	14 April 1774
OBSERVATOR (Edinburgh)	18 June 1772
An OBSERVER	22 July 1773
OBVIATOR	28 July 1774
An Occasional Correspondent	11 February 1773
AN OCULAR RHETORICIAN	11 March 1773
ODO	30 December 1773
O.F.	30 March 1769
An OFFICER	25 July 1776
An Officer in the Army of his Britannic Majesty	6 September 1781
AN OLD CORRESPONDENT	10 July 1783
AN OLD MAID	1 April 1773
An Old Reader (Dalmeny-Parish)	2 November 1775
OLD SQUARE-TOES	8 March 1770
AN OLD SUBSCRIBER	17 March 1779
An Old Surveyor (Edinburgh)	6 April 1775
AN OLD TRADER (Greenock)	2 September 1778
An Old Whig	18 November 1773
One of the Croud	15 October 1772
One of the Public	19 October 1775
ONYSIMUS (Edinburgh)	2 July 1772

O.P.	9 February 1775
O.P. (Airshire)[1]	16 April 1772
OPIFEX	6 April 1780
ORDO (Templeton)	7 March 1776
ORESTES	15 June 1775
ORINDA	8 April 1773
OROONOKO (Montrose)	11 April 1776
ORPHEUS (Edinburgh)	22 April 1773
ORTHODOXUS	11 July 1771 etc.
ORUS	16 February 1775
OSCAR	23 September 1773
OSMUND	10 September 1772
O-T, J.	9 September 1778
P.[2]	14 April 1774
P.	8 October 1772
P. (Edinburgh)	16 January 1772
P-	20 August 1772
P.A. (Dumfries)	2 February 1775
PACIFICUS (Clydesdale)	5 March 1772
PACIFICUS (Edinburgh)	7 August 1777
PAIDOPHILOS (Closeburn)	12 May 1774

1 Same as AN OBSCURE PATRIOT.
2 Same as M-(Glasgow).

PAIDOPHILOS (K-n Parish)	8 June 1775
Palaemon	28 June 1770
PALEMON (Kyle)[1]	5 December 1771
PALLADIO (Edinburgh)	12 October 1775
PALLAS[2]	14 August 1777
PAMPHILOS	26 April 1770
Papyrius Cursor Fourth	3 November 1774
PARAPHRASTES, JOHANNES (Clydesdale)	25 May 1775
A PARENT	17 December 1772
A PARENT (Edinburgh)	14 September 1780
PARK, JOHN (Highlie, E. Lothian)	18 August 1774
PARTHENIA (Edinburgh)	4 May 1775
PATRIOTICUS (Aberdeen)	26 November 1772
PAULINUS	28 December 1775
PAUPER SUPERBUS	11 February 1773
PAX (Paisley)	22 June 1775
PAX ET CONCORDIA	4 May 1769
P.B. (Edinburgh)[3]	17 August 1775
PEACEABLE, TOM (Musselburgh)	10 January 1771
PEDANT, JOSIAH (Banks of Air)	17 February 1774

1 A shepherd.
2 Miss B.A., aged thirty.
3 Peter Bow, baxter, Princes-street (?) (W).

PEEBLES, W. (Glasgow)	16 September 1773 etc.
PELOPIDAS (Airshire)	7 January 1778
A PENITENT	1 February 1781
PEOPLE	1 February 1776
PERRY, W. (Academy, Taylor's Hall, Edinburgh)	25 January 1776
PETER	26 August 1778
PHILADELPHIA	27 February 1772
PHILADELPHOS	18 March 1773
PHILADELPHUS	20 August 1772
PHILAGATHOS (Berwick-upon-Tweed)	23 April 1772
PHILAGATHUS (Bruntsfield Links)	25 January 1770
PHILAGNOS	2 December 1773
PHILALETHES	29 September 1768
PHILALETHES (Edinburgh)	27 December 1770
PHILANDER	9 January 1772
PHILANDER (East-Lothian)	30 January 1772
PHILANDER (Hamilton)	12 December 1771
PHILANDER (St. Andrew's)	16 March 1775
PHILANDORE	22 April 1773
PHILANTHROPIST	25 August 1774
PHILANTHROPIST (Berwick)	17 February 1774
PHILANTHROPIST (Camus-house)	31 March 1774

PHILANTHROPIST (Old Assembly Close)	26 March 1772
PHILANTHROPOS (Edinburgh)	10 December 1772
PHILANTHROPOS (Forfar)	3 December 1772
PHILANTHROPOS (Glasgow)	8 June 1775
PHILANTHROPOS (Kirkwall)	28 December 1769
PHILANTHROPOS (K-n)	5 March 1772
PHILANTHROPOS (Perth)	15 December 1768
PHILANTHROPOS (Aberdeen)	27 January 1774
PHILARETES (Berwick-upon-Tweed)	21 March 1771 etc. etc.
PHILARETOS	20 April 1769
Philarithmos	5 May 1779
PHILARMA (Edinburgh)	6 July 1769
PHILASTER (Edinburgh)	16 December 1773
PHILATHLIOS (Edinburgh)	30 November 1769
PHIL-ELEUTHERUS (Edinburgh)	20 October 1774
PHILEMON	12 January 1775
PHILEMUS	13 August 1772
PHILENGUOS (Fifeshire)	14 October 1773
PHILEPAEMON	27 August 1772
PHILETUS	30 January 1772
PHILEUPHUIAS	26 December 1771
PHILLIS (Edinburgh)	3 June 1778

PHILO (Dumfries)	30 September 1778
PHILOALETHEIAS	25 November 1773
PHILOALETHEIOS	2 March 1775
PHILO-ANTIQUITATUM (Edinburgh)	3 December 1772
Philo-Arithmos	31 March 1779
PHILO-BARRY	23 January 1777
PHILOBIBLION (Edinburgh)	15 April 1773
PHILOBIBLOS (Paisley)	24 October 1776
PHILOCLES (Berwick-upon-Tweed)	19 March 1772
PHILOCLES MINIMUS	6 April 1775
PHILOCRINES (Edinburgh)	30 November 1775
PHILODEMUS	6 August 1772
PHILOGAMOS (D-s)	12 May 1774
PHILOGAMOS (Edinburgh)	17 October 1771
PHILOGAMOS (J-d)	1 December 1774
PHILOGAMUS	10 June 1773
PHILOGAMUS (Musselburgh)	28 October 1773
PHILOGATHUS (Fifeshire)	25 August 1774
PHILOGATHUS (Edinburgh)	26 January 1775
PHILOGEORGICON (Westown)	9 March 1775
PHILO-GRAMMATIKOS (K-t)	1 June 1775
PHILOGRAPHON (Berwickshire)	26 November 1772

PHILO-JUSTITIAE (Forfar)	29 September 1779
Philoleutheros	22 December 1768
PHILOLOGUS	18 July 1771
PHILOLOGUS (E. Lothian)	8 October 1772
PHILOMARTYRORUM	2 December 1773
PHILOMATHES	13 October 1774
PHILOMATHESIS (Carron Canal)	27 May 1773
PHILOMETRIOS	2 April 1772
PHILO MUSARUM	21 October 1778
PHILO-MUSE	1 May 1777
PHILOMUSES	29 October 1772
PHILONOUS (P-k-y)	21 August 1777
PHILO-ORTHOLOGIAE (Shetland)	22 October 1772
Philo-Orthologiae Secundus (Banks of Dee)	7 January 1773
PHILO-OSSIAN	31 January 1782
PHILO-PACIS (Clydesdale)	27 November 1783
PHILOPAIDAS	5 May 1779
PHILOPAIDOS (Edinburgh)	20 February 1772
PHILO-PANTHEON (Edinburgh)	31 August 1775
PHILOPATHETICOS (South of the Tweed)	24 August 1775
PHILO PATRIAE	29 April 1778

PHILOPATRIS	19 March 1772
PHILOPAUPER	18 May 1775
PHILOPENES	23 January 1772
PHILO-PETOR (Edinburgh)	23 March 1775
PHILOPHYSIS (Edinburgh)[1]	27 February 1772
PHILO-PISTOS (Edinburgh)	13 April 1775
PHILOPOEMEN (E. Lothian)	10 June 1773
PHILOPOLITES	21 October 1773
PHILOPRATT	26 November 1772
PHILOPROPHETARUM	4 November 1773
PHILO-QUARLES	5 February 1784
PHILO-RHITHMUS (Edinburgh)	8 September 1779
PHILO-RURIS (Banks of Ale)	1 July 1778
PHILO-SHERLOCK (Dundonald)	17 June 1773
PHILOSTORGOS	22 April 1773
PHILOSTRATUS (Glasgow)	21 April 1773
PHILOTAXIS	3 March 1774
PHILOTECHNOS (Airshire)	6 February 1772
PHILOTECHNUS	31 January 1771
PHILOTHEATRI	2 April 1772
PHILOTHEOS (Banks of Ale)	8 May 1777
PHILOTHERAPEIAS	6 February 1772

1 Aged 24.

PHILOTIMES (Edinburgh)	22 October 1772
PHILOTIMY	9 January 1772
PHILO-VERITAS (Edinburgh)	20 August 1772
PHILO-VERITAS (West-Highlands)	22 March 1781
PHILOVIRTUTES (Montrose)	2 July 1772
PIANO, SIGNOR (Lanerk)	24 February 1774
PISCATOR	26 April 1781
PITTACUS (Edinburgh)	26 February 1784
PLAIN, HENRY (Aberdeen)[1]	26 September 1771 etc.
A PLAIN MAN (Aberdeen)	1 January 1773
A Plain Scotsman (Paisley)	5 November 1772
PLAIN, TIMOTHY (Edinburgh)	6 June 1776
PLANTAGENET	30 June 1774
A PLEBEIAN (Banks of Air)	21 January 1773
PLEBEIUS	3 October 1771
PLORATOR	3 March 1779
A Ploughman	31 March 1779
P-M-[2]	6 June 1776
POETARUM MINIMUS	28 January 1773
POETASTER (Carnwath)	16 December 1774
A Poetical Taylor	28 July 1774

1 Same as 'Agricola', q.v. (C).
2 Peter Miller, minister at Dunbar (?) (McD I, 40).

POETICUS	5 June 1778
A POLITICAL PROJECTOR (Banks of Clyde)	27 July 1780
POLITICUS	26 August 1778
POLONIUS	19 December 1771
POLYAENUS	13 February 1772
POLYANTHES (Banks of Aray)	10 April 1777
POLYDORE	11 January 1776
POMONA	21 November 1776
THE POOR POET (Wigton)[1]	17 June 1778
PORTIUS	10 March 1779
The POSTILION	11 December 1777
P.P.	24 May 1781
PRAEMONITOR	10 July 1777
A Practical Farmer (Fifeshire)	17 February 1774
A Practical Farmer (King's Park)	28 November 1776
PRAOPHILUS (Orkney)	5 July 1780
A PRESBYTERIAN (Pentland Hills)	21 July 1774
PRIMITIVE, PETER	7 December 1775
PRISCUS	27 July 1775
PROBATUM EST	6 October 1779
Pro Bono Publico	19 September 1776

1 A boy of 14.

PROBUS	18 June 1772
PROBUS (Caithness)	1 September 1774 etc.
PROCULEIUS (Edinburgh)	7 September 1775
PROJECTOR	6 January 1779
A PROJECTOR	2 January 1777
THE PROMPTER	19 January 1775
PROPATRIA (Edinburgh)	23 December 1773
PRO PATRIA (Fife)	9 May 1776
A Proprietor of Bank Stock	2 April 1780
Pro Rege et Patria	26 October 1775
A PROTESTANT (Edinburgh)	28 April 1779
A PROTESTANT (Kirkaldy)	7 March 1776
PROVIDUS (Glasgow)	18 March 1773
PRUDENTIUS (Edinburgh)	21 June 1770
P-T-	3 March 1774 etc.
PUBLICOLA	23 May 1776
PUBLICOLUS	26 August 1778
PUBLICUS	9 February 1769
PUBLIUS	3 September 1772
PUBLIUS (Top of Dunequech)	1 May 1777
A PURITAN (Northumberland)	23 May 1771
PURUS (Aberdeen)	9 May 1776

PUZZLE, POLLY (East-Lothian)	18 September 1777
P-Y	27 April 1775
PYM (Castlehill)	29 September 1774
PYTHIAS (Dumfries)	19 December 1771
Q-	8 February 1775
THE QUERIST	2 November 1775
THE QUERIST (Falkirk)	16 May 1776
A QUERIST (Carnwath)	24 February 1774
QUIDAM (Alyth)	9 December 1770
QUIDAM JUVENIS (Dundee)	3 March 1770
A Quill Driver (Kilmarnock)	21 November 1776
R.	8 February 1770
R. (Airshire)	26 September 1771
R. (Clydesdale)	7 November 1771
R. (Edinburgh)	22 July 1778
R- (Banks of Leven)	14 April 1779
R- (Banks of S.)	8 December 1779
R- (Kirkcudbright)	1 September 1774
R.A.	23 May 1771
RABELAIS (Fife)	12 October 1780
RANDOLPH (C-d)	2 October 1777
RANGER (Edinburgh)	2 April 1772

RANKEN, ANDREW (Chapel Street, Nicolson's Park)	3 August 1775
RASONENSIS	16 October 1777
RATTLE, TOBY (Edinburgh)	16 January 1772
R.B. (Glasgow)	7 October 1773
R-CH, D-D (Galloway)	21 April 1774
R.C.L.	18 December 1783
R.D.[1]	5 May 1774
R-D (Edinburgh)	30 March 1775
R-D, Miss M-Y (Kilmarnock)	22 May 1777
REASON	2 December 1773
A REFORMER	15 June 1775
REID, J. (Langholm)	28 December 1775
REMEMBRANCER	8 February 1776
RENNIE, JAMES (M'Glashan's Buildings, Cross-Causeway)	17 September 1772
R.H. (Banks of Ruchil)	13 March 1780
R.H. (Parliament Close)	31 May 1770
R.I. (Edinburgh)	23 August 1770
RICHARDSON, J.	4 August 1774
RIDER, A (Edinburgh)[2]	14 November 1776
RIDIBUNDUS	19 January 1775

1 Same as B-M- (From issue for 12 May 1774).

2 Aberdeen University Library copy has MS. marginal identification 'J.A.' Perhaps, therefore, the same as 'Agricola', q.v.

RIGADOON, HUMPHREY	3 February 1774
R.J.	24 June 1773
R.J. (Edinburgh)	14 April 1779
R.L. (Edinburgh)	11 June 1772
R.L. (Glasgow)	14 July 1779
R.L. (Leith)[1]	23 January 1777
R.L. (Salton)	6 September 1770
R.L. (Samiston, near Jedburgh)	4 February 1773
R.L. (Strathearn)	10 February 1774
R-L, W.	17 October 1776
R.M.	5 March 1772
R-N, D. (Edinburgh)	24 July 1783 etc.
ROBERTSON, JOHN (Rothsay)	3 February 1779
ROBERTSON, W. (Dolphingtoun)	26 December 1776
ROGERS, R.C. (No.2 Great Trinity Lane, London)	21 October 1773
ROMEO [Galloway]	25 February 1778
RORY, WILLY (Dunkeld)	21 December 1775
ROSALINDA (Fifeshire)	1 October 1772
ROSARO	6 October 1779
R.P.	1 November 1781

1 Robert Lithgow, schoolmaster, Old Sugar House Close (?) (W).

R-P-	13 July 1775
R-R- (Dunkeld)	18 April 1776
R.S. (Banks of Lunnan)	13 March 1777
R-T	7 December 1775
RUB, R.	8 April 1778
RUBECULA	9 May 1776
RUBENS	22 December 1779
RUSTIC, R. (E. Lothian)	3 February 1774
RUSTICULUS (Clydesdale)	5 May 1774
RUSTICUS	25 January 1770
RUSTICUS (Clydesdale)	31 March 1774
RUSTICUS DUBITANS	27 October 1779
R.W. (O-y)	21 December 1780
R.W. (Perthshire)	9 January 1772
R.W.S.	18 April 1771
R.Y.	18 June 1772
R-Y, D. (Edinburgh)[1]	8 August 1776
R-Y, J. (Dundee)	1 April 1773
S.	9 April 1772
S-	8 October 1772
S- (Berwick)	3 August 1775

1 David Ramsay, editor of the Edinburgh Evening Courant ? (McD I,107).

S- (Edinburgh)	21 November 1776
SACELLANUS	9 May 1771
SANCHO	7 October 1773
SARCASTICUS (Edinburgh)	9 July 1772
SARCASTICUS ALTER (Edinburgh)	1 October 1772
SARCASTICUS Jun.	30 July 1772
SATIRICUS	6 June 1776
S.B.	22 April 1778
S.B. (Perthshire)	15 November 1770
S-B-	24 June 1778
S.C.	7 May 1772
SCALIGER, A.M.,	22 May 1778
SCAPO	4 September 1777
A SCHOLAR (Fife)	18 March 1773
SCIPIO	30 August 1781
SCIPIO (Glasgow)	18 February 1773
SCIRON (Edinburgh)	17 July 1777
A SCOT[1]	25 July 1771
SCOTIAE AMICUS	19 May 1774
SCOTICANUS	5 November 1772
SCOTLAND, ROB. (Dunfermline)	27 October 1774

1 Possibly the same as 'Agricola', q.v. (C).

SCOTO-BRITANNUS (Edinburgh)	19 April 1770
SCOTO-BRITANNUS (Perth)	17 January 1771
SCOTO-BRITANNUS	4 July 1771 etc. etc.
A SCOTSMAN	1 November 1770
SCOTS SPY	21 March 1776
SCOTT, J. (Brierieshaw)[1]	16 November 1775
SCOTT, RICHARD (Ews)[2]	21 September 1775
SCOTUS	24 June 1778
SCOTUS (Dornoch)	7 May 1772
SCOTUS (Edinburgh)	24 February 1774
SCOTUS (Paisley)[3]	20 August 1772
SCRIBBLER	19 September 1771
SCRUTINEER	3 June 1773
SCULLION	5 November 1772
S.D. (Edinburgh)[4]	31 August 1769 etc.
S-D- (Linton)	1 January 1773
S-D- (Tweeddale-shire)	23 January 1777
S-D, G.	27 November 1777
S.E.	6 August 1772

1 Could this be the same as J.S. (Berwick), q.v.? The subject is agriculture.
2 Rev. Richard Scott, Ewes, Presbytery of Langholm. (From issue of 8 May, 1777).
3 Francis Douglas. (From issue of 29 October 1772).
4 Sylvester Douglas ? (McD I,33).

SEALLY, J.[1]	28 February 1771
SEEK-TRUTH, SAM	21 December 1775
SELF-WROTE (Clydesdale)	25 June 1772
SENEX (Linton)	6 January 1775
SENICULUS	4 April 1776
SENIOR	9 February 1780
SEPTENARIUS (Edinburgh)	28 August 1777
SEPTIMIUS (Hamilton)	13 February 1772
SEPTIMIUS (From the Banks of Jordan)	22 April 1773
S.G.	29 March 1780
A SHEPHERD (Banks of Air)	1 September 1774
SHERIDAN, PARSON (Dysart)	2 January 1780
SHETLAND, WILL (Yell-Island)	13 August 1772
A Ship Carpenter (Dunbarton)	22 August 1776
SHOPKEEPER, A	12 April 1770
SIEVWRIGHT, NOR. (Brechin)[2]	2 January 1772
SILANUS	20 July 1775
SILIX	7 August 1777
SILVIUS (Angus)	6 June 1771
SIMONIDES (Perthshire)	12 November 1772

1 Joseph Sealy, teacher of dancing, Foulis's Close ? (W).
2 Episcopal clergyman (from issue of 9 May 1771).

SIMPLE, JOHN	1 January 1773
SIMPLE, TOBIAS	25 December 1777
SIMPLEX (Edinburgh)	24 August 1769
SIMPLEX (Strathern)	5 May 1774
SINAPI	25 June 1772
A sincere Lover of Liberty	28 November 1776
A sincere Well-Wisher to the interests of Scotland (Perth)	7 December 1775
SINCERITY (Arbroath)	20 February 1772
SINCERUS	14 May 1772
SINCERUS (Edinburgh)	14 April 1774
SINCERUS (Near Lanark)	23 June 1774
S.K.	28 February 1782
S.L.	11 April 1776
S-L (Dumfries)	28 May 1772
S-LLE, W. (Lanark)	26 October 1775
SLYBOOTS	1 June 1775
S.M.	13 February 1777
SMALL, JOHN (Edinburgh)	14 September 1775
S-N, C.[1]	14 October 1778
S-N, G.	15 June 1775
S-N, J- (Aberdeen)	27 August 1772

1 Same as C-S-, q.v.

SNAP	22 June 1775
SNELLA	4 May 1775
SOBER, SAMUEL	14 October 1773
SOBER, SIMON	4 February 1773
SOBRIUS (Fife)	28 December 1775
SOCRATES (Dumfries)[1]	5 March 1772
A Sojourner on Earth	3 December 1772
SOLO, SIGNORE	30 December 1774
SOLONICA (West-nuik of Fife)	24 February 1774
SOLUS (Edinburgh)	30 May 1771
SOLUS ET INNUPTUS	27 May 1778
SOLUTUS	23 September 1773
SOMEBODY (Ross-shire)	1 April 1773
SOMNIOSUS (King's College, Old Aberdeen)	1 October 1773
SOMNOLENTUS	19 August 1773
SOPHIA (W-k-k, East-Lothian)	14 December 1775
SOPHISTES HYBERNICUS	3 September 1772
SOPHRONIA	27 November 1777
SOPHRONIUS	30 June 1774
SOR-JOINT, SAMUEL (Edinburgh)	29 February 1776
Specimen Try Soberly	22 November 1770

1 Possibly the same as 'A Husband' (internal evidence).

SPECTATOR (Edinburgh)	16 July 1772
SPECULATOR (Edinburgh)	15 July 1773
A SPECULIST (B-n)	12 November 1772
A SPORTSMAN	7 March 1776
S-S (Dumfries)	26 March 1772
S.T. (Edinburgh)[1]	29 August 1776
S-T, J- Aberdeen	10 September 1772
S-T, W- (Gattonside)	2 November 1775
STANDISH, STEPHEN (Edinburgh)	4 March 1773
STAR-LIGHT, STEVEN	30 July 1772
STAUROPHORUS (Edinburgh)	27 May 1773
STELLA (Edinburgh)[2]	17 November 1774
STEWART, HECTOR (Lochaber)	21 December 1775
STITCH, ARABELLA	9 December 1778
A Stocking Manufacturer (Aberdeen)	9 November 1775
STREPHON (Dundee)	3 March 1774
STUART	28 March 1776
A STUDENT	23 December 1773
A STUDENT (Edinburgh)	8 September 1774
A STUDENT (Lanark)	3 February 1774
A Student of Medicine	31 March 1779

1 A woman (internal evidence).
2 Fergusson's 'literary' lover (McD I,30-32).

SULPITIUS (Dumfries-shire)	9 November 1775
Susanna	25 June 1772
S.W-	12 January 1775
SWIFTSHOD, JONATHAN (Scotland)	20 April 1772
SYLVANDER	23 July 1772
SYLVANDER (Annan)	15 October 1772
SYLVENDORE	29 October 1772
SYLVIUS	7 August 1783
A SYMPATHETIC CREDITOR	13 August 1772
SYMPATHETICUS (Annan-side)	11 April 1776
SYMPATHETICUS (Berwick-upon-Tweed)	6 June 1771
T.[1]	11 September 1777
T. (Banks of Loch Katren)	8 December 1779
T. (Dundee)	17 December 1772
T. (Edinburgh)	16 June 1779
T. (Strathern)	11 June 1772
T-	1 July 1773
T- (L--m)	18 February 1778
TACITO (Edinburgh)	7 April 1774
TACITUS	5 July 1780
TAGRHIME, TIMOTHY	12 January 1775

1 James Tytler (I. p.159).

TAIT, J.[1]	25 October 1770 etc. etc.
T.A.O.T.E.E.	15 April 1778
TAPE, DOROTHY	3 October 1771
TAR, JACK (Edinburgh)	24 March 1774
TARDY, PETER	10 November 1774
TASTE (Edinburgh)	3 December 1772
TAYLOR and SKINNER (Edinburgh)	26 December 1776
T.B.	7 June 1770
T.B. (Aberdeen)	26 December 1771
T.B. (Edinburgh)	15 November 1770
T.B. (Perth)	15 July 1773
T.C.	27 January 1774
T.D.	2 February 1769
T.E. (O-y)	28 September 1780
TEARLOCH (Insegall)	1 April 1778
TELL TRUTH	11 August 1774
TELL-TRUTH, ASPASIA (Edinburgh)	26 September 1771
TELL-TRUTH, MARY (Edinburgh)	7 May 1772
TELL TRUTH, TOM (Mearns)	30 November 1775
TENANT, GEORGE (Grimgribber)	22 March 1770 etc.
TENDER-HEART	30 January 1772
TESTER, HUMPHREY	22 April 1778

1 John Tait, Edinburgh Writer to the Signet (W).

T.F.	27 April 1769
T.H.	7 November 1777
T.H. (South of the Tweed)	20 February 1777
THEODORE	14 September 1775
THEODORE (Edinburgh)	12 August 1769
THEODOSIUS (Haddington)	24 September 1772
THEOLOGUS (Aberdeen)	22 February 1781
THEOLOGUS (Edinburgh)	27 August 1772
THEOLOGUS (Spittal, Berwick-upon-Tweed)	19 October 1775
THEOPHILUS	26 August 1773 etc.
THEOPHILUS (Caithness)	2 September 1778
THEOPHRASTUS[1]	3 June 1784
THEORETICUS (East-Lothian)	22 May 1777
THEOTIMOS (Side of Cart)	22 February 1776
THEOTIMUS	5 October 1769
THIMBLE, TIMOTHY	4 April 1771
A Third Friend to Merit	29 October 1772
THOMAS THE RHYMER	14 March 1776
Thomas the Rhymer Junior	3 March 1779
THOMSON, JAMES (Haddington)	21 October 1773

1 William Creech. The article concerned appears in Creech's Edinburgh Fugitive Pieces.

THULE	27 October 1774
TICKLER	24 January 1771
TIGLATHPILEZER	13 February 1772
TIMOLEON	13 February 1772
TINSEL, FANNY (Closburn)	17 March 1774
TITUS	25 May 1775
TITUS VESPASIAN	13 February 1772
TITYRUS(Aberdeen)	23 July 1772
T.J.	8 August 1771
T.J. (Kelso)	7 August 1783
T-J-	8 January 1784
T.M. (Edinburgh)	11 February 1778
Tokos	5 May 1779
A TORMENTED BACHELOR	19 June 1780
TOUCHOLE, JAMES (Edinburgh)	2 January 1772
T.P.	17 October 1776
T.R. (Edinburgh)	17 November 1774
T-R- (Glasgow)	24 December 1772
T-R- (Queen's-hill, near Kirkudbright)	3 October 1776
A TRADESMAN (Edinburgh)	15 February 1776
A TRADESMAN (St. Andrew's)	21 December 1775
A TRAVELLER	5 August 1773

T-r, D-l (Woolwich)	30 December 1774
TRIFLE, TOM	1 January 1773
Trifle, Will (Banks of Caple)	6 April 1775
A True Blue Presbyterian (Cupar in Fife)	27 April 1775
A TRUE BRITON	13 October 1774
TRUELOVE, TIMOTHY	19 June 1780
TRUE MEASURE, TOM (Banks of Tay)	10 June 1773
A True Patriot	28 December 1775
TRUTH, D.	19 March 1772
TRUTH, THOMAS	13 February 1772
T.S.[1]	7 February 1771
T-S-	27 April 1775
T.T. MELROSENSIS (Banks of Tweed)[2]	7 January 1778 etc.
T-T-W-E, J.	28 February 1771
TULLUS HOSTILIUS	7 January 1778
TURNUS	30 June 1779
TURNUS (Banks of Ayr)	10 May 1781
TWEEDIE, T. (Gibbet-lone toll, near Edinburgh)	2 January 1777
T-WLER, J.	22 November 1770
ULTRAGLOTTENSIS	26 December 1771

1 Thomas St-t (In issue of 28 February 1771).
2 Possibly the same as 'Melrosensis' q.v.

An unprejudiced Englishman, and a Friend to TRUTH (London)	13 January 1774
URBANUS	4 March 1773
URBANUS (Banks of Spey)[1]	12 November 1772 etc.
URBANUS AGRICOLA	7 August 1777
URBANUS JUNIOR (Forres)[2]	30 August 1781 etc.
V.	16 May 1776
V-	29 August 1776
VALERIUS	12 November 1772
VALERIUS (Dumfries)	11 March 1772
VANESSA	17 April 1777
VAN HELMONT	12 May 1772
VANLU (Aberdeen)	28 January 1773
VAN SPROCHNE, JASPER (Beth's Wynd)	12 August 1773
VARO (Edinburgh)	9 July 1772
VARRO	22 August 1776
VATUM ULTIMUS	5 December 1771
VENATOR	1 February 1776
VENATOR (North Berwick)	23 January 1777
VERAX (Edinburgh)	23 March 1775
VERI-AMATOR (Kirkaldy)	2 May 1776
VERI AMATOR (Lowmonds of Falkland)	15 December 1774

1 Same as 'Agricola' q.v. (McD I,35).
2 Possibly the same as 'Adolescens'.

VERIS AMATOR	18 July 1776
VERITAS	1 October 1773
VERITAS (Air)	29 October 1772
VERITAS (Edinburgh)	4 August 1774
VERITAS (Leith)	8 December 1774
VERITATIS AMATOR (Linlithgow-shire)	16 March 1775
VERUS	23 November 1775
VERUS (Edinburgh)	2 July 1772
A VETERAN SCOT	1 February 1770
VETULA	29 April 1778
VIATOR	19 January 1775
VIATOR (Ayr)	7 January 1773
VIATOR (Edinburgh)	1 August 1776
VIATOR (Glasgow)	30 June 1774
VIATOR (Kirkwall)	2 September 1773
VIDEO (George's Sq.)	3 March 1774
VINDEX	29 June 1775
VINDEX (Banff)	9 December 1773
VINDICATOR	25 February 1773
VINICULTOR	25 January 1776
VIRGO (Tully-mully, by Dunkeld)	2 November 1775
Vir Inimicus Tyrannis (Oxford St.)	23 December 1773

VISIONICUS	27 October 1774
VOID OF GRACE	12 January 1775
VOLUSENUS	1 October 1773
W.	24 October 1771
W. (Edinburgh)	7 February 1771
W. (P-k-y)	29 May 1777
W- (Ayr)	3 October 1771
W.A.D.[1]	18 November 1778
WALLACE, Geo.[2]	1 October 1772
WALKER, THOS. (Dundonald)[3]	9 March 1775
W.B.	1 November 1770
W.B. (P-n, E. Lothian)	24 February 1774
W.C.	16 August 1770
W.C. (Curry)	7 May 1772
W-C- (Roslin Castle)	8 July 1778
W.D.	28 March 1771
W.E. (Dundee)	17 September 1772
WEBSTER, J. (Glenesk)	5 December 1771
A Well-Wisher to the Country	15 February 1770
A West-India Merchant	14 March 1776

1 Rev. W. Abernethy-Drummond (identified from issue of 9 December 1778). See entry in DNB.
2 Advocate, Scott's Close, Edinburgh ? (W).
3 Rev. Thomas Walker, d. 1780 (S).

W.G.	19 March 1772
W.G. (Arthur's Cairn, Lowthousehill)	24 March 1774
W.G. (Linlithgow)	19 March 1772
W.H.	24 September 1772
WHACKUM (Edinburgh)	16 February 1775
A WHIG	29 February 1776
WILHELMINA (Edinburgh)	31 July 1777
WILL-WRITE, WILLIELMA (Edinburgh)	3 April 1777
WILSON, G.[1]	10 May 1770
WILSON, J. (Lanarkshire)	19 May 1774
WILSON, JOHN (Broomhead)	21 January 1778
WISEMAN, WILL	9 May 1771
W.J. (Banks of Garnock)	24 July 1777
W.J. (Edinburgh)	14 May 1772
W.K.	7 August 1783
W-K, W. (Edinburgh)	14 October 1778
W.L.	20 August 1772
W.M. (Edinburgh)	28 June 1770
W.M. (Laighwood)	18 December 1777
W-N, R.	16 November 1775
W-N, S.	18 May 1775

1 Gavin Wilson, shoemaker, Canongate-head, Edinburgh (W, cf. McD II,275).

W.O.[1]	24 May 1770
WOODCOCK, JUSTICE (Edinburgh)	5 March 1772
WOODS, W.[2]	30 December 1774
A WOOL TRADER (Fifeshire)	7 July 1774
W.P.	8 August 1771
W.R.[3]	28 December 1769
W.R.	13 December 1770
W-R- (Berwick-upon-Tweed)	22 July 1773
WRIGHT, ANDREW (Ormiston)	18 November 1778
THE WRITER (Avoch)	30 November 1775
W.S. (Edinburgh)[4]	5 December 1776
W.S. (Kinloch)	8 September 1779
W-TT (A-s B-s T-n)	10 February 1779
W.W.	7 March 1771
W.W. (Doune)	12 March 1772
W.W. (Edinburgh)	27 November 1777
W.W. (P-y)	10 July 1777
W-Y, J-	22 February 1781
W.Z.	3 August 1769

1 Walter Oswald, apprentice to the grammarian's brother Walter Ruddiman (Chalmers, Life of Thomas Ruddiman, p.272).
2 William Woods, the actor (McD II,275).
3 Walter Ruddiman, publisher of the Weekly Magazine.
4 Wm. Stevenson (1719-1783) Edinburgh physician ? (I). The subject of the article is quack doctors.

X.	25 January 1770
X. (Edinburgh)	21 December 1780
X- (Perth)	4 January 1770
XANTIPPE (nr. Dumfries)[1]	13 February 1772
XENOS (Berwick-upon-Tweed)	2 March 1775
X.S.G.	30 November 1775
X,Y.	7 May 1772
X.Y.Z. (Nicholson's Street)	23 April 1772
X.Z.	23 September 1773
X.Z. (Gourock)	21 September 1775
Y.	18 November 1773
Y. (Glasgow)	29 January 1784
YEATS, JOHN (Mounthill, nr. Queensferry)	4 August 1774
YORICK (Edinburgh)	1 February 1780
A Young Clergyman (Airshire)	23 May 1771
A Young Farmer[2]	9 January 1777
A Young Gentleman	30 May 1776
Young LADY	11 February 1773
A YOUNG LADY (Banks of Clyde)	10 October 1776
A YOUNG LADY (Dundee)	27 July 1775
A Young Man (Lanarkshire)	27 July 1775

1 Wife of 'A Husband' q.v.
2 Same as N.B. (13 March 1777).

A Young Philosopher	2 January 1777
A Young Quill-driver	7 March 1776
A Youth of Fourteen	16 May 1776
Y.Z.	12 December 1771
Z.	25 February 1773
Z-	28 August 1777
Z- (Fisher-row)	11 April 1776
Z.A.	31 May 1770
ZANY (-House, Edinburgh)	20 May 1773
Z.B. (Banks of Forth)	4 August 1779
ZENO	28 July 1774
ZENO (Dumfries)	4 March 1773
ZENO (Grangeside)	6 October 1779
ZETLANDICUS	23 January 1772
Z...R (Dumfries)	12 March 1772
Z.Z.Z.	12 October 1775
- (Alloa)	16 July 1772
- (Carlisle)	14 May 1772
- (Dumfries)	19 November 1772
- (Gala-Water)	10 December 1772
- (Kirkwall)	21 March 1771
- (Thurso)	22 December 1768

-- (Alloa)	7 November 1771
** (Broughton)	4 September 1777
***	17 March 1779
*** (B-n)	25 September 1777
***** (Dumbarton)	30 May 1776
1+0-1= (Edinburgh)	12 March 1772

APPENDIX C Scottish vernacular poetry in the Weekly Magazine (excluding the work of Fergusson).

Abbreviations

SH : 'Standard Habbie'

CKG : 'Christ's Kirk on the Green' stanza

1 September 1768 SH	To Mr. ALEXANDER ROSS at Lochlee, Author of the Fortunate Shepherdess, and other Poems in the broad Scotch Dialect. OLIVER OLDSTILE (i.e. James Beattie. Reprint from the Aberdeen Journal, 6 June 1768).
30 July 1772 Ballad Stanza	The Battle of CORICHIE, on the HILL of FAIR by [John] Forbes, schoolmaster at Maryculter.
3 September 1772 SH	To Mr. ROBERT FERGUSSON. J.S. (Berwick)
28 January 1773 Rime couée	HORACE Book I Ode ix imitated in modern SCOTS. VANLU (Aberdeen)
25 February 1773 SH	ODE to Laene, in the Scots dialect. AQUILO

28 October 1773
Heroic couplets

A PASTORAL in the SCOTS Dialect, in imitation of VIRGIL'S First Eclogue.
AQUILO (Thurso)

13 October 1774
SH

ELEGY on CORNELIUS SKELTON, Piper of ALLOA.
F.K.

8 December 1774
SH

WRITTEN extempore on a young Gentleman, on his getting a CLOAK and WIG: In the SCOTS Dialect.
C.K. (Montrose)

30 December 1774
SH

The FARMER'S HA'
C.K. (Montrose)

9 February 1775
Octosyllabic couplets

A WINTER PIECE. Attempted in broad Scots.
P-

21 September 1775
Heroic couplets

AULD HAFFIE'S DIRGE (written by a Scots officer in India).

28 December 1775
aabccb 5xa
Scots only in first two stanzas.

The WOOD and CASTLE of KINGCARDINE. Attempted after the manner of the Old Scots Pastoral.
GLOTTIANUS

25 January 1776
Heroic couplets

A PASTORAL, suited to the TIMES. In the Caledonian Dialect, with a Glossary.
AQUILO (Caithness)

2 May 1776 (cf. 30 January 1777 - another version)
Song metre

TULLOCHGORUM, a SONG, by a Clergyman at Aberdeen.

11 July 1776
SH

VERSES from the LIVING to the DEAD.
I.G. (Edin.)

20 February 1777
Heroic couplets

A PASTORAL ECLOGUE in the Caledonian Dialect.
D-C- (Edin.)

17 April 1777
Rime couee

ELEGY on JOHN S[MITH late Kirk-Officer at F[o]rt[evio]t.
M-N (F-rt-t)

3 July 1777
Heroic couplets

An ECLOGUE in the Caledonian Dialect.
D-C-

4 September 1777
aabbc - 7xa
Anglo-Scots song

The favourite KISSING SONG.

11 September 1777
abab
4343 xa
Anglo-Scots song

WILLY'S RARE and WILLY'S FAIR.

16 October 1777
Heroic couplets

MARION. A PASTORAL.
AENIGMA (Glasgow)

23 October 1777
Song metre

The SOGER'S RETURN. A NEW SONG.
(Tune - Push about the Jorum)
AENIGMA

30 October 1777
Rime couée

The SCOTS DOMINIE'S ADVERTISEMENT.
W-J-

4 December 1777
Heroic couplets

A SCOTS PASTORAL
D-C-

21 January 1778
aabbccddee 5xa
last two lines
form refrain.

WINTER
D-C-

28 January 1778
SH

An ADDRESS in SCOTS, on the Decay of that Language
[Charles Keith]

18 February 1778
SH

Thanks to the ABERDEEN'S SCOTS POET.
T- (L--m)

1 July 1778
Song metre
Anglo-Scots song

'Where new mown hay, on winding Tay.'

3 February 1779
SH

To the Reverend the AUTHOR of TULLOCHGORUM &c.
C.W. (Portsoy)

SH

To C.W. Portsoy.
[Rev. John Skinner]
(both reprinted from the Aberdeen Journal)

14 April 1779
SH

To the Publisher of the WEEKLY MAGAZINE.
ESKDALE TAM (Langholm)

20 October 1779
abab
4343 xa
(b hypermetrical)
Anglo-Scots

THE LASS OF HOWGATE.
(Tune - The Bonniest Lass in a' the Warld)

30 December 1779
SH

WINTER, an ODE; in the Scots dialect.
J.B. (Edin.)

24 January 1780
SH

Addressed to Mr W-m O-n, Master of the Grammar School of P-s.
M-Y. (Edin.)

19 June 1780 CKG
5 July 1780
13 July 1780

The SILVER GUN. A POEM. Canto I
" Canto II
" Canto III
J-M- (Dumfries)

12 October 1780
SH

VERSES in the SCOTS DIALECT - written soon after the late ingenious Mr. ROBERT FERGUSSON made his appearance in this Miscellany.
RABELAIS (Fife)

23 November 1780
SH

HALLOW-E'EN. A POEM.
JOCKY MEIN

15 March 1781
SH

On the Return of MARCH. Old Stile. In the Scots Dialect.
J-M- (Edin.)

1 November 1781
Ballad stanza

The DEATH of MONTEITH -
From TRADITION.
(Reprint from Scottish Tragic Ballads)

1 January 1784
abab
4343 xa
(b hypermetrical)

A LUVE SANG to Bonny KATE,
our neist door Neighbour.

29 January 1784
SH

GLASGOW. A POEM.
J- M-N (Glasgow)

APPENDIX D The identity of Walter Ruddiman's wife

G.H. Johnston, the Ruddiman family's biographer, was unable to establish the identity of Walter Ruddiman's wife, Janet Bradfute, with complete certainty. His investigations showed the existence of two ladies with that name, either of whom, in his opinion, might have become Mrs. Ruddiman.[1] The first, (born 1720) was a member of the family represented in the Edinburgh bookselling and publishing firm of Bell and Bradfute; the second (baptised 16th January 1725) was a daughter of Daniel Bradfut(e), Professor of Greek in King's College, Aberdeen.

I have now been able to establish Mrs. Ruddiman's identity without going outside the pages of the Weekly Magazine itself. Johnston duly observed the obituary notice in the issue for 23rd May 1776 (XXXII, 287):-

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1 Op. cit., pp.97-98.

21. [May] At Edinburgh, Mrs. Janet Bradfute, wife of Mr. Walter Ruddiman, printer there, most justly regreted by all who knew her.

He did not, however, observe a poem published two months later (18th July 1776, XXXIII,113) with the following superscription:-

For the WEEKLY MAGAZINE.
To the Memory of Mrs J-T B-te, Daughter of Professor D-L B-TE, late of King's College, Aberdeen (Vol. xxxii. P.287.)

This elegy, sixty lines in length, is signed W.R. It is a pedestrian piece, in the manner of Pope's school. The chief objection to it is not so much that it is poor poetry, as that it is an inadequate instrument for extolling the virtues of its subject. The tone improves somewhat in the last paragraph with the heightening of emotion. Here the husband's autograph, as it were, proves that W.R. was indeed Walter Ruddiman:-

Domestic happiness! celestial joy!
Sweet'ner of life, whose pleasures never cloy!
How often have I felt thy chearing ray
Dispel my darkness and illume my day!
How oft didst thou the rage of fate controul,
And soothe the rising anguish of my soul!
Thee to prolong, had length of days been giv'n,
Was all the boon I had to ask of Heav'n:
But since decreed that separate we must,
(And who dare call Heav'n's fix'd decree unjust?)
Vouchsafe, blest shade! dear object of my woe,
For whom these numbers with my tears must flow;

Vouchsafe, exalted to a higher sphere,
To hold sweet converse, once our solace here,
In conscious thought each placid scene review,
And live o'er past felicity anew,
Till that blest day, when, broke each earthly chain,
Congenial spirits may unite again.

W.R.

The place and date of Walter Ruddiman's marriage remain unknown to me as they did to Johnston. He had to be content with the opinion that it took place about 1754.[1] A search conducted on my behalf by the staff of the General Register Office, New Register House, Edinburgh, in the parish records for Aberdeen and Old Machar, 1740-1756, produced no result, and there is no entry in the published Register of Marriages in the City of Edinburgh 1751-1800 (ed. F.J. Grant).

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1 Op. cit., p.40.

APPENDIX E Two anonymous epigrams

A certain amount of interest attaches to two anonymous epigrams in the news section of the Weekly Magazine, from the possibility that one or both might be compositions by Fergusson, hitherto unrecognised. The first one appeared on 11th March 1773 (XIX,352):-

STANZA on a late melancholy ACCIDENT

O cruel fate! why was thou so unkind,
To take poor MOSS, and leave rich RIG behind?

The "melancholy accident" is almost certainly that described in an account of the tornado which hit Edinburgh on Wednesday 20th January 1773:-

Almost an hour after four, a stack of chimney on an old house at the foot of Gosford's Close, possessed by Mr Hugh Mosman writer, was blown down, which unhappily falling on the roof, carried it along with it, and broke into that part of the house where he and his spouse lay, bearing all before it. Thus that gentleman and his lady perished in the ruins. There were two children abed in a closet off the room where their parents slept, who were providentially preserved. The storey below was possessed by Mr

Rigg of Morton; but luckily he himself lay in a closet adjoining the room, by which means his life was saved, though the closet was so surrounded by the rubbish that he was confined in a state of very great uncertainty, till relieved by the workmen, who scaled the walls and brought him out. But his sister, Miss Mally Rigg, who slept in a lower flat, and below her brother's room, shared the fate of Mr and Mrs Mosman.
(21st January 1773, XIX,127-128)

The second epigram was published in the number for 4th November 1773 (XXII,192):-

On seeing an Asterism (instead of the City Chamberlain's Name) in the Constellation of the Town Council.
EDIN. REV.

HEROES of OLD, in HEATH'NISH days,
Were sent among the stars to blaze;
But now we change the old ABODE,
BUCHAN on earth is made a GOD.

The source of inspiration here - EDIN. REV. - was not, of course, the first Edinburgh Review (1775-1776) but the Edinburgh Magazine and Review (1773-1776). In the issue of that periodical for October 1773 we find the following on page 56:-

PREFERMENTS
The Magistrates and Town Council of Edinburgh
[List subjoined]
Query Why have the printers omitted Mr Hugh Buchan, the City-chamberlain, out of this list? Is it because he is already sufficiently known to his fellow citizens? Is it because his office is permanent; or because he is not properly a magistrate? Does not the whole revenue of the city pass through his hands? He surely deserves the slight favour of an annual exhibition.

Internal evidence does not really prove anything

about the authorship of these epigrams. It can only be observed that neither exhibits much sign of wit, although some point may have been lost with the passing of their topical interest. One has to admit that nearly all Fergusson's poems in the Magazine are followed by his name or initials. Exceptions, however, are the lines EXTEMPORE, on seeing Stanzas addressed to Mrs HARTLEY, wherein she is described as resembling MARY Queen of Scots (2nd April 1772, XVI, 31) and the EPIGRAM on seeing SCALES used in a MASON LODGE (21st October 1773, XXII,128), both in the news section.

In the St. Andrews University copy of Fergusson's Poems, 1773, presented by the author to David Herd, there is a list in manuscript on a blank leaf at the end of Part I, of 'Poems Wrote by Robert Fergusson after this Publication of his Works' (i.e. after June 1773) with page references to the Weekly Magazine itself. One might assume this to be an authoritative contemporary catalogue, but it covers only the poetry section of the Magazine, and ignores three genuine epigrams by Fergusson which appeared in the news section - those on Brown and Wilson's execution and

on Boswell and Johnson (16th September 1773, XXI, 384; 4th November 1773, XXII,192) both signed with the initials R.F., and the anonymous but authentic one on the scales in a Masonic Lodge, already mentioned. The fact that the lines on the Asterism do not figure in this list cannot, therefore, be used as an argument against Fergusson's possible authorship. The couplet on the "late melancholy Accident", of course, falls outside the period covered by the list.

On the other hand, it should be remembered that it was rare to find poems in the news section: their appearance there is usually explained by special circumstances, e.g. they had come too late for insertion in the proper place. It may be recalled also that Fergusson was regarded by contemporaries as Poet Laureate of Edinburgh, able to compose impromptu pieces on the passing scene. He could almost be regarded also as the Poet Lauteate of the news section of the Magazine.[1] In one case it has been suggested he had access to copy before it was printed (see p. 86), and the relationship between him and Ruddiman

1 J.W. Oliver, "Fergusson and Ruddiman's Magazine", in Robert Fergusson 1750-1774, ed. S.G. Smith.

was certainly closer than that between the editor and other poets in the Magazine.

APPENDIX F The trial of Walter Ruddiman

A search for information about the court proceedings against Walter Ruddiman[1] has so far yielded only the following brief note from the legal archives of the Scottish Record Office, in the Exchequer Court Minute Book 1775-1790 (E 351/6) pp. 54-55:-

Monday 16 June 1777

His Majestys Advocate Generall — Plaintiff

v.

Walter Ruddiman — Defendant

By Information for £10 penaltie

The above Information is laid upon the Stat 10 An c 19 s 105 and the Stat 11 Geo. 1 c8 s14, Stat 30 Geo 2d c 19 s 1, Stat 13 Geo. 3 c 63 s 1, Stat 16 Geo. 3 c 64 s 7 being read, His Majestys Advocate Generall informed the Court that a memorial stating the Defendants case had been printed contrary to the Orders of Court, and the Defendant having acknowledged that he had printed the same for the use of his Council only and having asked the pardon of the Court,

1 Vide p.198 ante.

and it appearing that he had thro ignorance done it, the Court reproved him and pardoned his offence, and the cause being tryed the Jury found a verdict for the Plaintiff.

It will be observed that this note throws no light on the conduct of the trial itself, only on a preliminary procedural objection. In a letter to me dated 30th August 1966, A.L. Murray, Assistant Keeper at the Scottish Record Office, states that "the pleadings in the Exchequer Court were supposed to be written, as against those in the Court of Session which were normally printed." Mr. Murray goes on to state that "Advocate Generall" was the Exchequer Court term for the Lord Advocate, who at that time was Henry Dundas, later Viscount Melville. It is possible that further relevant information might be contained in the Scottish Record Office's 800 boxes of judicial records, almost entirely unsorted, to which research workers are not allowed access, but the records could not be expected to reveal anything about possible activities of Ruddiman's jealous rivals, who are supposed to have drawn the authorities' attention to his infringement of the law.

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